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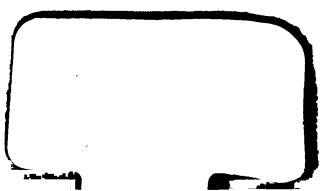


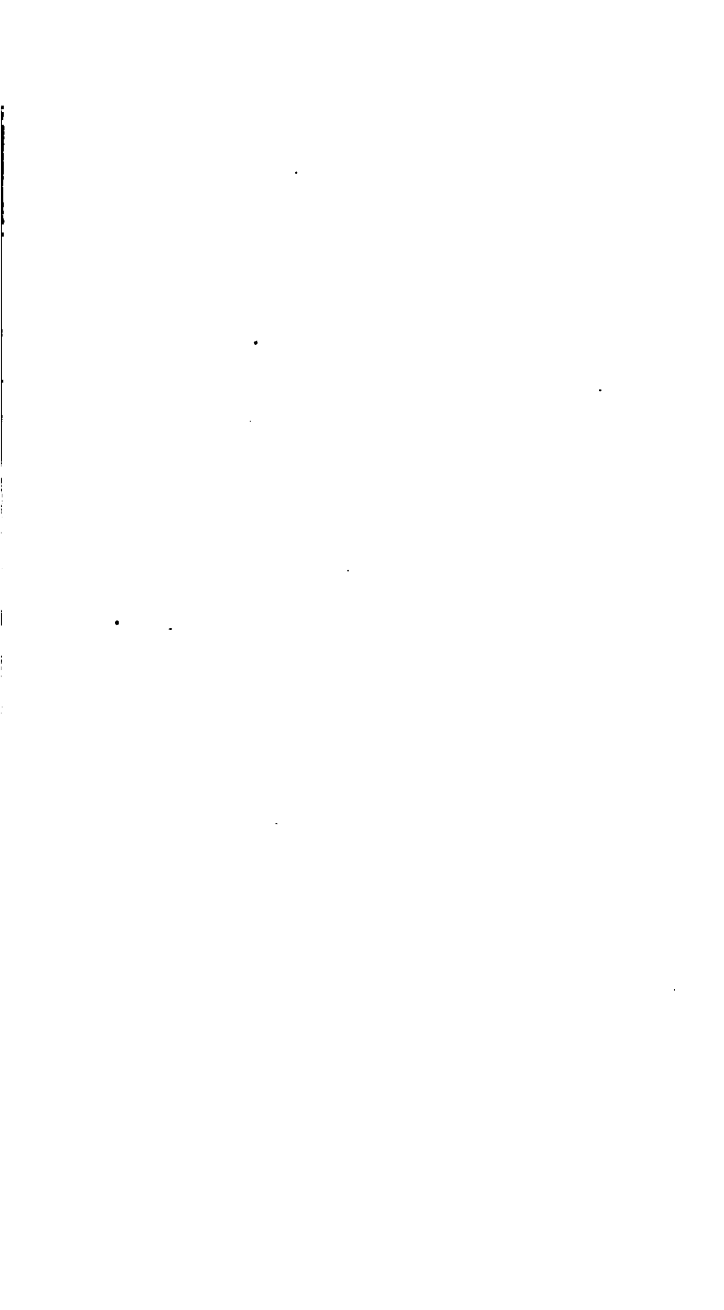
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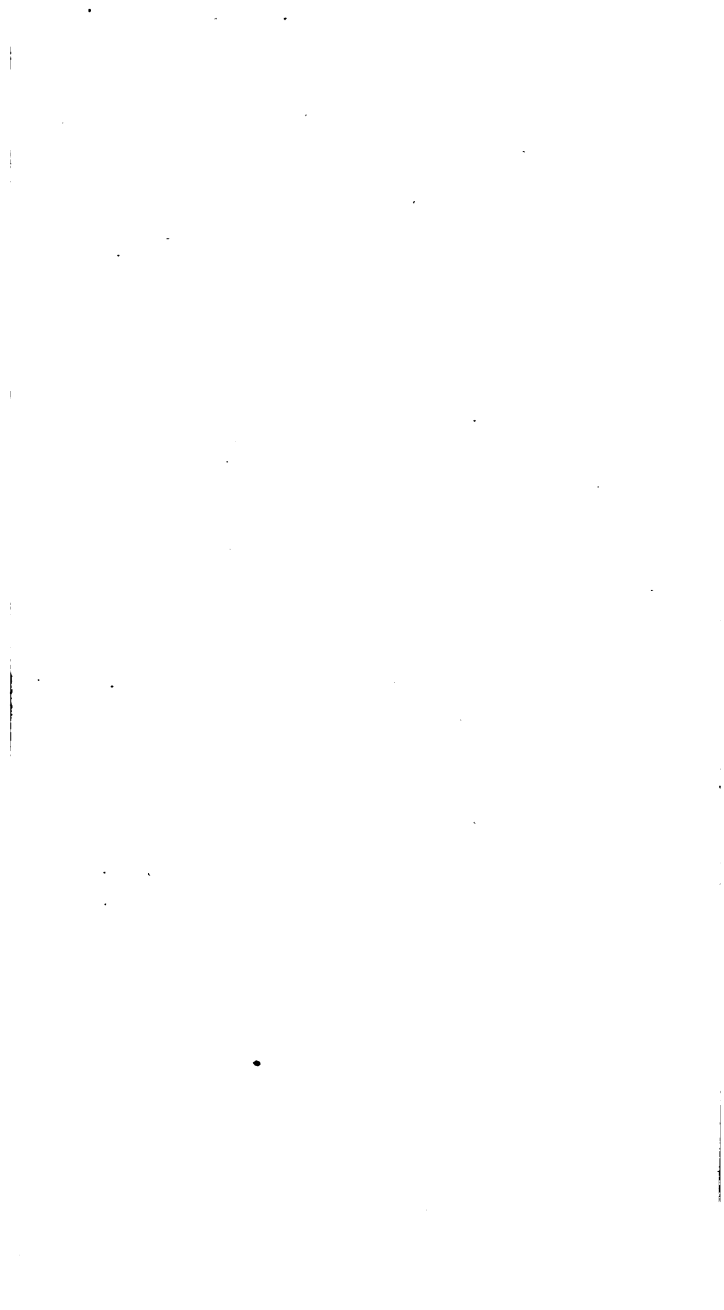


FROM THE  
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BEGUN IN 1858









*Frontispiece to Voll. vide p. 120. p. 252.*



Bronze actual size  
Found in excavating near Watling Street London  
now in the collection of William Goulet Esq., Swansea.

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17

SHAKESPEARE'S PUCK,

AND HIS

**Folklore,**

ILLUSTRATED FROM

THE SUPERSTITIONS OF ALL NATIONS,

BUT MORE ESPECIALLY FROM THE

EARLIEST RELIGION AND RITES OF NORTHERN EUROPE  
AND THE WENDS.

BY

**WILLIAM BELL, PHIL. DR.**

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY FOR LANCASHIRE AND  
CHESHIRE, AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY  
OF ANTIQUARIES FOR NORMANDY, AT CAEN.



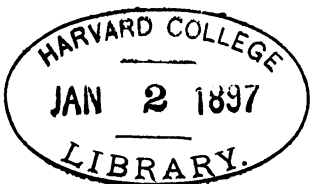
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TO THE

REV. J. BOSWORTH, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.S.L.

SOC. R. ANTIQ. SEPT. HAFN.—CORR. SOC. R. SC. NORV. DRONTH.  
AND GOTH. SOC.

MY DEAR SIR,

There exist in this kingdom few persons to whom the present Work could be dedicated more appropriately than to yourself. It is an attempt to combine the Mythologies of most of the nations of our Western Hemisphere into one creed, principally from oral agreement or verbal conformities. Your own labours have facilitated the study of the Anglo-Saxon, and thereby laid the best foundation for a thorough knowledge of the German dialects, which have been called by me into such copious requisition for illustration of the following pages.

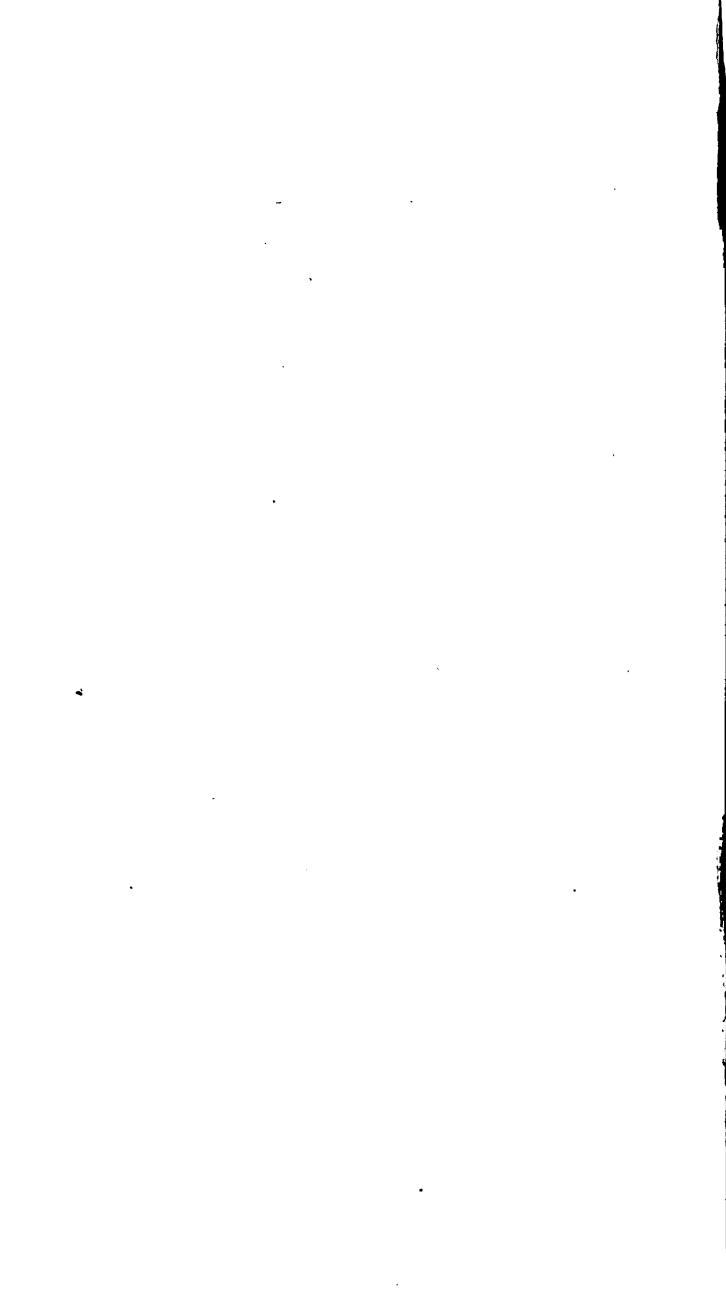
Should you bestow upon the whole work the same favour which you expressed towards a portion of it, my ambition will be gratified and my expectations fulfilled. In the pleasing hope that it may be so,

I am, my dear Sir,

Your ardent admirer and most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM BELL, PHIL. DR.

17 GOWER PLACE, EUSTON SQUARE.



# CHAPTER I.

---

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

---

The characteristic features of nations, like the internal construction of plants spread over the surface of the globe, were the impressions of a primitive type.—HUMBOLDT'S *Researches*, i. p. 94.

AFTER what has been written on the native mythology of England and of Shakespeare, or on our indigenous supernatural beliefs, the present new attempt may appear too bold and daring. The "fresh hand" will be expected to strike out untrodden paths, to offer unattempted elucidations, to clear up the doubts of his predecessors, and to explain the difficulties of commentators; and without the conscious power to do so, it will be thought presumptuous in him to have ventured to increase the number of writers by which our great bard has hitherto been almost smothered by his own progeny. Nor without some feeling of adequate ability would the present author have remained, as he always has been, any other than a silent, although an ardent, admirer of our Stratford poet; but having spent many years in the northern parts of Germany and the adjoining

Scandinavian kingdoms, during which the investigations of their history, and antiquities, and customs, formed at first a pleasing relaxation to the severer business of life, and, when mercantile trammels were thrown off, subjects of ardent and unceasing research, he believes that he has discovered opinions and observances amongst our elder continental brethren that will elucidate and explain many obscurities or difficulties, both of text and meaning, which, the rather as they are unexpected, cannot but prove gratifying and instructive to the admirers of the Shakesperian muse, in which, no doubt, the great majority of those are included who speak or understand the English language; and he feels himself, therefore, justified in laying the results of these investigations before the public. The clearing up even of a single doubtful passage, the removal of the slightest obstruction to the comprehension of a thought which passed through that great intellect—great for all climes and ages—deserves attention, and, if successful, applause. The present work is confined to the consideration of—

—“that shrew and knavish sprite  
Call'd Robin Goodfellow,”

on which a note in Baudry's Paris edition of the play, copied from I know not what commentator, says: “There can be no doubt that the attributes of Puck, or Robin Goodfellow, as described by Shakespeare, were collected from the popular superstitions of his own day. But Robin Goodfellow does not find a place in English poetry

before the time of Shakespeare. He is Puck's poetical creator. The poets who have followed in his train have endeavoured to vary the character of the 'shrewd and meddling elf,' but he is, nevertheless, essentially the same." //

That my labour may not be quite superfluous, we may conclude from the words of Mr. J. O. Halliwell, one of the most industrious and successful investigators of our archaic words and usages (*Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of the M. N. D.*, printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1845): "The whole of the popular fairy mythology of the tales on which the *Midsummer Night's Dream* may be said to be founded, has now become a subject for literary research;" and with him (*Introduction to M. N. D.*, London, 1841), I may also exclaim as to the present inquiry: "It remains to be seen whether the labours of foreign commentators have, as some imagine, exhausted all that proper and useful annotation on the works of Shakespeare, which, in the lapse of two centuries, and the continual change in our language and manners, have been rendered necessary;"—as I find, in a following sentence of the same author, an excuse as well as an encouragement to proceed: "We predict that many years must yet elapse ere that complete inquiry into Shakespeare's language and allusions will take place, without which the spirit of his writings can never be fully understood or appreciated." /

Should the present attempt be favourably received by the public, I have made great prepara-

tions for illustrating the incantation scene of *Macbeth* from equally new and unexpected sources.

That all the peculiar and popular observances of our ancestors and our peasantry, which are now classed under the Teutonic appellation of FOLKSLORE (Volkslehre), should have been originally brought from the countries of these Teutons with their first colonies from that nearest coast, and these subsequently strengthened and augmented by successive arrivals, appears so natural that few will object, and fewer still totally deny. For the sceptical, it is only necessary to appeal to the almost universal conformity of usage and opinions in every thing that bears a popular character on both sides of the German Ocean: even on a superficial view these are immediately obvious, and they increase in a wonderful proportion when examined with a competent knowledge of the dialects and patois of their peasantry. It is there that the mutual congruities of the two languages increase in such a ratio as to become all but identical. The ploughboy of Holstein, and the small hand-loom weavers of the West Riding of Yorkshire, when each denotes objects, or expresses natural feelings in his own most pure vernacular, have little difficulty in a mutual understanding.\*

\* A fact, within the personal knowledge of the author, which occurred to two Heckmondwicke blanket weavers, may be adduced in corroboration. Having ventured, with a consignment of their own manufactures, to Hamburg, they determined to try the experiment of proceeding to some interior small towns and villages, to make better prices

Weber, in his *Germany* (*Deutschland*, iii. p. 760), says of the Platt, or Low German, which, however, was the only dialect for all the country, to the time of Charles V. and the publication of Luther's Bible in High German (Hoch Deutsch), "she is the mother of the Dutch and English languages, and sister of the Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic, which, by means of this Low German, we can readily understand, as well as the Wends and Bohemians, the Poles and the Russians. Had Johnson understood Low German, his famous dictionary would have contained fewer errors."\* I suppose Weber here alludes to Johnson's etymologies, which are universally condemned. In the learned introduction to my friend Dr. Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (p. 35), is a most valuable paper, by the Rev. J. H. Halbertsma, on "*the Ancient and Modern Friesic, compared*

than the wholesale drapers in that city would offer; and this, though totally ignorant of the language. They were successful in disposing of their entire stock; and on being questioned, on their return, how they had managed in that respect, it was found that the slight modifications in the syntax, or the disposition of the words, had been their only stumbling-block: the words were too nearly alike to offer any difficulties. The expression they used was characteristic:—"German was nobbut broad Yorkshire backarts way." In Brabant and Flanders the case was much the same. A story appears in the travels of an officer there, some years back, who found his servant, a Yorkshire lad, one morning chatting familiarly and laughing with a knot of peasants, though he never had been before from home, and certainly never learned Flemish.

\* Hätte Johnson platt deutsch verstanden sein berühmtes Wörterbuch hätte weniger Fehler.



*with the Anglo-Saxon,*” which contains so much that is pertinent to these remarks, and to language in general, that I regret my plan allows me to restrict myself only to a short extract :

P. 46. “ It must be observed, that the monuments of Friesian literature are of a far more recent date than the Anglo-Saxon ; but the development of language does not always depend upon its age. The Friesians, encompassed on the one side by the sea, and on the other by the Saxons, owe it to their geographical position that they have experienced no mutations but those of a Saxon origin, and in many respects homogeneous with their own language. I do not recollect any intermixture of a foreign language with the Friesian, except what was caused by the frequent inroads of Normans, and by the settlement of some bands of the same race among the Friesians.—These causes would render the language so stationary, that it would be less altered in the twelfth century than in the tenth. In the following comparison many instances will occur of true Anglo-Saxon sounds still flourishing in Friesland.....Discovering such striking features of likeness after a separation of almost fourteen centuries,—a complete separation by the ocean, by the adventures and the diversity of their means of subsistence, and of the land they occupied,—I conclude that, at the time of their union, about the middle of the fifth century, the Anglo-Saxon was distinguished from the Friesic only by slight differences of dialect.”

And the opinion of the great philologist, Junius, is adduced, “ that of all the Germanic tongues, none approached so closely to the Anglo-Saxon as the Friesian.” After such authorities, it may appear trivial to adduce minor ones ; but I cannot omit the following practical example of the exact conformity, at least to the ear, even yet, of these two languages, in a verse cited to me at Bremen by a native Friesian :

“ Bread, butter, and green cheese,  
Is very good English and very good Friese.”

When spelled, or put into writing, the identity vanished of course.

This conformity is, therefore, only *oral*, and ceases entirely when the words in both languages are committed to writing and compared. It must be referred to that period when language had been formed, but when words and sounds had no inlet to the understanding but through a single and imperfect organ—the ear.\* We cannot now determine how long the ear remained for mankind the sole channel to mutual communication and intelligence; at how great an interval it was before the increased necessities of our race induced our forefathers, by a rude scratch or mark on any surface sufficiently yielding, to form the first *sign* or *character* to signify a letter. From the great similarity between words and roots in all languages (more especially in the Indo-Germanic family), which designate the common relations of life, the natural affinities, tools of agriculture and instruments of commerce, animals, localities, and even proper names, we feel assured that this interval was long, the process gradual; still more so from the earliest nick, or scratch of rune, wedge, or ogham, to the cultivated and comparative com-

\* Buchanan, in his *History of Scotland* (Amst. 12mo, 1648), is much of this opinion when he says, p. 61: “ Ex hoc opinor literarum sono et familiari singularum gentium in certis literis pronunciandis ratione et aurium judicio; item ex compositione et declinatione vocum certiora sumi posse indicia cognati sermonis quam e singularum verborum significatione.”

plicity of the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman alphabets. Characters for ideas, rather than words, came into use most probably later, and started, Minerva-like, full-formed into being. The eye, the hieroglyphical emblem of an ever-watchful and overlooking Providence, could be copied by every workman from his own; the serpent, the ibis, the scarabeus, were every day before him as copies or representatives of those ideas and properties within himself, to which he ascribed the greatest congruity in the animals. (Necessity, carelessness, or want of skill, soon reduced the true image to a rough outline, gradually less distinct and more distant in its resemblance, till, in the enchorial and demotic characters, we recognise the original only by deep research and a painful comparison.) The Chinese characters were also at first perfectly-formed and true pictorial emblems, till the commercial and social necessities of that practical people reduced them to the complexity of lines and curves, which our large importations of the delightful shrub of that country have made so familiar to us on its packages. Even in Mexico the hieroglyphical symbols, though evidently much younger, had already, at the period of its conquest by Cortez, imbibed many conventional signs in lieu of the primitive pictures that ultimately, as was the case in Egypt and China, would have borne the same relations to them that shorthand does, at the present day, to our common caligraphy.

It was after this, and at the period when two senses became engaged in conveying incorporeal

and impalpable ideas to the mind—when the imperfect transmissions of the ear were corrected by the more certain and determinate impressions from a much higher organ, the eye,—that divergence of language, once formed, must have been perpetuated. In process of time, however, differing sounds were expressed by one sign, and by the converse error, one sign was often made to signify two or more differing sounds; nor was it till the invention of printing by moveable types that any fixed and unaltered form was generally admitted in our orthographies, or a certainty of spelling attainable. But even here the imperfection of the alphabetical characters, the carelessness or caprice of writers, gave great latitude to discrepancies and want of uniformity: even at what is called the Augustan period of our literature, the same word may be found differently spelled in the same page, as in Addison's original *Spectator*; and the want of some decisive autocratic power was sensibly felt, to settle doubts by authority, to remove difficulties by decision. For the British language, such an authority was found in Dr. Johnson; and, since the publication of his dictionary, our language may be said to have become fixed, and so determinate that future innovations are little to be feared. It was certainly a great drawback on the labour of our great lexicographer, that he was unacquainted with many of the modern languages of the continent, which has caused his etymological element to be woefully deficient. An analytical dictionary, which would follow ideas and meanings to words, and

words to their roots; which would show, not only where and how words had been used by our writers, *but where such use had been improper and unsystematic*, is still a great desideratum in our literature.

Admitting, therefore, the original oral identity of the Anglo-Saxon, the basis of our modern language, with the cognate dialects of Germany, we must look for their present written divergence in the cultivation that each, but especially the English, has received from its writers in both countries, acting unconnectedly and independent of each other; and it follows, therefore, as a necessary consequence, that the more we recede from the present time, the nearer we approach to the original identity. Chaucer is now scarcely intelligible without a glossary, and that glossary is best supplied by phrases from German dictionaries. His inflexions and grammar are all governed by rules in modern German; and, if we go still farther back, the *Saxon Chronicle* is easily read by a German scholar without assistance or hesitation, and after but a slight practice.\*

Such being the facts, and with the consideration that but few years will have to pass over our

\* I refer those who wish more particularly to study the agreements and the diversity of cognate tongues to the above-cited essay of the Rev. J. H. Halbertsma, in Dr. Bosworth's introduction, particularly pp. 35—46. At p. 37 we have the account of a small Friesian village divided by a rivulet into seven small islands, or *pollen*, every one of which had a distinct dialect; and a female could easily ascertain to which *pol* any neighbour belonged, merely by some peculiarity of speech. It is clear there was no printer in the place.

heads before we shall count three centuries completed since the bard of England was born, we must necessarily admit that, at the period in which he lived, our language was more Saxon or German, our customs, manners, usages, and observances, had a livelier and fresher tint of Fatherland than we now find in them. On the continent, the manners of the peasantry have, since that date, nearly preserved their original features. As the smoke from their pyroligneous fuel is less corrosive and blackening than the murky fumes sent forth from our tall chimneys, and by our carbonized mineral coal, so the comparative absence of all manufactures, coupled with their pastoral or agricultural pursuits, have preserved their manners more primitive and pure; perhaps in many of the nooks and bye-corners of the country, immoveable and torpid from the days of our great dramatist. The still existing modes of life there are, in many instances, the same as those which he drew at home; and the ideas and superstitions now prevalent abroad, pretty much the same as those by which his contemporaries were influenced at home. Yet, of such promising material, we find few commentators have been able to avail themselves, though most have been willing to glean a few scattered notes here and there, at second-hand, which, because unconnected and unsystematical, have, in most instances, naturally obtained unsatisfactory results, sometimes led to great misapprehension.\* Drake,

\* It would be, however, doing great injustice to the feelings of the writer, and to the learning and ability of Mr. J. O. Halliwell, if he passed over his merits in the two works

in his two ponderous quartos, has endeavoured, and successfully as far as the Edda could suggest conformities, to illustrate the *Gothic* mythology which the plays of Shakespeare present, particularly in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the subject also, in a great measure, of the present essay. At vol. ii. pp. 302-312, he combats more manfully than the occasion required the ludicrous assumption that the belief in elves, fairies, or witches, was first imported into this country by the Crusaders; as if a tendency to the supernatural, and a desire of a knowledge of the future, tendencies engrafted in nature, had been previously unknown in our island; as if the imaginations of our forefathers had, to this period, been silent, and even their fears—the great parent of every mode of superstition—had not suggested to their fancies the agency of invisible and ærial beings in the good or evil that befell them.

It is not, however, in the Eddas, or the Scandinavian sagas, that we must look for the *direct* promptings of our bard in his wonderful and inimitable machinery. Both serve admirably as corroborative illustrations where the *Mährchen* and *Volks-Sagen* of Germany are obscure, or, at most, as finger-posts where the latter are silent,

on Shakespeare already cited, p. 3, where much use is made of German researches in his examinations of the dramas of Gryph, and more especially of his *Absurda Comica*, for elucidation of the Shakespearian plots of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*; but both the sources of that plot and its machinery, as well as of individual opinions scattered throughout, have a deeper origin.

and analogy invites or permits their support. Such cases are, however, rare ; for the legendary lore of northern Europe, and of the southern provinces of the Baltic more especially, is still very full and comprehensive, and has, of late years, been very successfully cultivated. Foremost in the list of native investigators of their national tales, stand the brothers, Wilhelm K. and Jacob L. Grimm. The *Deutsche Sagen*, and, still more, the *Deutsche Mythologie*, is perhaps the most recondite work of modern times ; for though we may not concur in all the reasons and deductions of its author, who is much biassed by a particular theory, it is undoubtedly the richest storehouse for the facts and opinions that have borne, or bear, upon the progress of the Germanic mind, and teach us more of the secret causes of their actions, the springs of their belief, than ever were brought together by a single individual. The *Deutsche Sagen* are also a rich mine of information, frequently referred to in the larger work, and both confirmatory and explanatory. It is remarkable that the first work (the *Mythologie*) has never yet appeared in an English dress ; and the reason assigned by Mr. T. Wright, in his ingenious essays, at p. 237, that it is " too extensive," should surely form a principal reason for undertaking a translation. But copious and curious as are their labours, they by no means exhaust the subject of Teutonic legendary lore. The provinces of the north have each of them had separate and industrious collectors. Prussia Proper, in its *Preussische Provinzial Blätter*,—a work now of some



years' standing, has a monthly recipient of every thing remarkable relating to her ancient or modern state; but the richest collection of her customs and observances was made by F. A. V. Tettau and J. D. H. Temme, in their *Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Lithauens und Westpreussens* (8vo, Ber. 1847); to which the latter subsequently added his *Alt Märksche Volkssagen*; and many other districts are equally rich. The *Baltische Studien*, for Pommern; *Kühne*, for the three Marks; and *Bechstein*, for the Austrian empire; and many others, particularized in the Appendix, scarcely any of which can be taken up by an observant reader without some amusing and startling conformities with our own familiar tales, frequently throwing over them a new light and unexpected results, may be usefully consulted.

The great diligence displayed by Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, successively aided by the contributions of his editor, Sir Henry Ellis, or Halliwell, as the latest of Bohn's *Antiquarian Series*; the publications by Thoms, and the successive additions that contributors from all parts of the country are weekly making to the "Folklore" of the *Athenæum*, and its newly established rival in this particular, *Notes and Queries*, may be fully matched in the *Chemnitzer Rocken Stube*, of which we had in the *Gospelles of Distaves, Emprynted at London in fletestrete at the signe of the Sonne, by Wynkyn de Worde*, a work corresponding in name, and similar most probably in detail, but its excessive rarity has prevented me making a complete collation of the two. Dibdin's *Typographia*

(vol. ii., p. 232, note) says it is probably a translation of *Les Evangiles des Convilles*, which first appeared in 1475. The British Museum has only a few stray leaves in Bagford's *Typographical Collections* (Harl. Mis. 9119, art. 35), the perusal of which makes it only to be lamented that the rest is wanting. Sir Egerton Brydges seems to know only two copies, one of which was in the possession of the late Mr. Heber; could this be traced, it would be a most fitting object for the labours of the Percy or the Camden Societies to produce a reprint equally curious, and perhaps more interesting, than *Thy storve of Reynard the Foze*, by Thoms.

It will no doubt surprise many readers to hear that the entire doubles of the Dunmow Flich of Bacon, the swearing at Highgate, the deplorable "Norfolke Tragedie" of the Babes in the Wood, and of many other customs and stories which we are apt to believe indigenous to our soil, may be traced with some industry amongst our continental neighbours. The particulars of the first of these instances, the Dunmow Flich of Bacon, may serve as an example, first premised, that the English version, besides its relation by Addison in the *Spectator*, No. 607, and so graphically pourtrayed by Stothard's burin, may also be found in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Halliwell's edition, vol. ii. p. 177. Thus in a very scarce work, entitled *Curieuse Antiquitäten*, published by Berckemeier, Hamburg, 1715, p. 373, we have the following story, entitled "Der Man und Die Speckseite," the man and the flich of bacon, to the same purpose.

At Wien, also, beneath the red tower, hangs a fitch of bacon, and appended to it these lines :—

Befind' sich irgend hir ein mann  
 Der mit der Wahrheit sprecken kann  
 Dass ihm sine Heurath nischt gerowe  
 Und fürcht' sich nischt vor sine frowe  
 Der mag desen Backen\* herunter howe.

which may be interpreted in similar doggerel :—

Is there to be found a married man  
 That in verity declare can,  
 That his marriage him doth not rue,  
 That he has no fear of his wife for a shrew,  
 He may this bacon for himself down hew.

Similar stories are told in the Austrian capital of the ludicrous failures of parties who occasionally applied, such as tradition has handed down of its brother at Dunmow, or the more ancient one, perhaps, at Wichenoore in Staffordshire.

“Once upon a time a man applied, and was bold enough to demand the fitch, and when a ladder was brought that he might cut down the unctuous prize, he requested that some one else would do it for him, as if he got a grease spot on his Sunday clothes, his wife would scold him terribly.

\* “Backen,” for “bacon,” is a word unknown to Adelung, and may show, if we compared dialects instead of languages, how much nearer we should find English and German than at present. Their present denomination of bacon, “Speck,” Wächter deduces from “bacon,” through “back,” by addition of the sibilant. In Beckstein (*Ostreich. Volksagen*, s. 6), the verses are given differently, and the Red Tower in which the bacon hung, is said to have been built by the money paid for the ransom of Richard I. to the Archduke of Austria, and to have been pulled down in the innovating reign of the emperor Joseph. On the Dunmow fitch of bacon, *vide* Halliwell's Brand, p. 177,—where, without authority, it is said a similar superstition prevails in Bretagne.

Upon this the gatekeeper told him to be off, he could have no claim to the bacon. He who fears is certainly not master at home, and has certainly rued having married."

I was once inclined to believe, as Dunmow in Essex, and Wichenoore in Staffordshire, were both localities in which the Knight Templars had possessions, and which order was largely doted at Vienna, that these conformities might have originated in some general observance of that order, or practical joke of the jovial knights-priests, to cast ridicule upon joys connubial in which they could not partake; but the custom of hanging up fitches, perhaps as a reward for fecundity in the marriage state, in imitation of the sow to which the original side belonged, is much more ancient, and is interwoven into the earliest popular antiquities of the Romans; for I find in Spence's *Polymetis*, p. 286, the following passage:

"Alba Longa is a place where Æneas met with the white sow and thirty pigs, and here was a very fine fitch of bacon kept in the chief temple even to Augustus' time, as I find recorded in that excellent historian Dionysius Halicarnassus."\* It is evident that an actual fitch of bacon could not

\* This sow with thirty pigs was an emblem, or lar, of fertility (Montfauc. A. E. vol. i. p. ii. page 323). "Lares qui etiam Grundiles vocabantur instituti sunt à Romulo in honorem memoriamque Scrofæ qui triginta porcellos uno partu ediderat: à grunnitu vox *Grundiles* orta est." It is curious, and in corroboration of the above, that "*women in the straw*" (even this expression answers to the litter of the pig-stye) were anciently said to be "grunting." Thus, in the play of *A Chaste Maiden in Cheapside*, by Thomas Middleton, in 1620, Wittol says of his wife,—

have long resisted the natural process of decay, however well preserved, and that, therefore, as the historian must have related the circumstance erroneously in some respects, it is open to conjecture what may have been the actual fact. Possibly the bacon may have been annually renewed, as must have been the case at Dunmow and the other localities, and have been only the representative of Æneas' original fecund porker, though in this respect the pagan priests might have learned a lesson from the burgomaster and venerable senate of Lüneburg. In that very old and interesting city are three gifts of nature: their navigable river Lune; their rock of gypsum, which supplies Hamburg and the northern provinces with superior plaster; and their brine-spring, the most copious and productive in the world: these three the inhabitants, with a proper appreciation of their importance, call their gold mines (*Gold-gruben*); and as the legend of the discovery of the last gives the merit of it, like those at Bath to king Bladud, by a diseased sow, in gratitude to such a benefactor part of her is still preserved, though her date must be fixed before the Christian era; but with greater prudence, and a more economical gratitude than the Italian priests displayed, they have restricted their relics to the bones, boiled and charred. These are pre-

“ When she lies in,  
 (As even now she's upon the point of *grunting*),  
 A lady lies not in like her.”

I therefore cannot agree with the derivation of “lady in the straw” in Halliwell's *Brand* (ii. p. 66); but much information is there gained on “groaning.”—*Ibid.* p. 70.

served in a frame, like a large stable lanthorn, over the green-baize table of the venerable fathers (and the room of assembly is thence rather irreverently termed the Schincken Stube, the ham room), which can be let down by a pulley for the closer observance of the curious, so that I could copy from its frame the following inscription, which does not certainly assert the authenticity of the relic quite so positively as Dionysius. *Hic tibi cernere licet reliquias Porci qui primus aquarum, quæ Luneburgæ Salzæ scatent, repiri dicitur.*

But there is a second possibility that both tales were forgeries, subsequently adapted to the beliefs and capacities of the commonalty both north and south; I shall have occasion hereafter to mention the great veneration in which swine, often confounded really and verbally, as in boar with the bear, were held in the north, and how frequently the sacrifice of the unclean animal was demanded by the indigenous deities of Italy.

Post idem inter seposito certamine reges—  
Stabant et cæsâ jungebant fœdera porcâ.

*Æneid*, lib. viii. v. 639 and 641.

I am the more inclined to this belief from the account of the offering of a fitch of bacon by the heathen Prussians to Percunnos, the mightiest of their triune deities. It is found in Tettau and Temme's *Volkssagen*, N. II. p. 25.

“A mighty deity of the heathen Prussians was Percunnos. An eternal fire was kept burning before him, fed by oak billets. He was the god of thunder and of fertility, and he was therefore invoked for rain and fair weather; and in thunderstorms a fitch of Bacon (*speck Seite*) was offered

to him. Even now (as the relation is copied from J. L. Polonus *De Diis Samogitiæ*, and Hartknock's *Alt und Neu Preussen*, the latter published in 1529, it is difficult whether to fix this *now* at that, or the date of the publication of their *Volkssagen*, 1837) when it thunders, the boor in Prussia takes a fitch on his shoulder, and goes with head uncovered out of his house, and carries it to his fields, and exclaims: "O God, fall not upon my fields, and I will give thee this fitch." When the storm is passed, he takes the bacon home, and consumes it with his household as a sacrifice."

With this superstition we may connect the belief that a large Druidical stone at Erleben, near Ascherleben, called from its shape "*the Fitch of Bacon*," becomes quite soft in rainy weather, so that a nail can be driven into it, in this latter respect connecting it with the famous Irmensäule at Wien, into which each journeyman on the tramp was bound to strike a nail, till it was so full as to be necessitated to be clamped with iron, and the practice finally to be discontinued from want of room for more; but if now removed, the name of the place where it stood, "Stock-am-Eisen" in that city, will always vouch for its existence. It is impossible to say whether we here again find a link in the common chain of superstitious or religious observances which bound the ancient world in one general bond of brotherhood in the Roman practice of the Flamen, who annually,\* on the ides of September, stuck a

\* Festus (s. v.) says it is a custom which is referred back to a very early age, and supposed to have been adopted as an expedient for reckoning the lapse of time before the use of letters was understood, and subsequently retained out of religious deference to old customs. The original account is found in Livy. In *Rich's Companion (Clavus Annalis)*,

nail into the door or temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; nor would the idea be irreconcilable with these customs, however they may have originated, which considers the immense number of about four thousand pillars or obelisks, of which the grand temple of Carnac in Brittany consisted in its integrity, as so many annual commemorations of their solemn festivals of Yule, as it would be difficult to find any other purpose to which they could be so feasibly assigned. Now, in reference to driving nails by judicial personages, Grimm (*Deutsche Alterthümer*, p. 832), tells us that in the Wetterau (not far from Frankfurt a. M) there was a water tribunal existing to a very modern period, which had its seat at Dorheim, that had under its jurisdiction all the mills on the rivers Wetter, Usc, and Nidda; its president, the water-captain or grave, was dressed like his ushers in red with red scarfs; a *water-weigher* had a pair of silver scales to weigh the pales and nails that were to be driven in. The tribunal was in the open air, near where the pales were to be introduced; the spectators were treated with red and white wine; the president laid aside his red mantle before driving home the pale, but the ushers kept on their red scarfs, and one after the other they gave *three knocks upon the nail to be driven in*. The village scholars sang a chorus, and received, as a remembrance, a dole of cherries, from which the above is taken, is the woodcut of a large bronze nail now in the possession of the Italian historian, Bianchini (*Storia Univ.* tom. ii. p. 156, tav. 9 a), which, from the letters upon it, is believed to have been actually employed for the purpose described.



apples, and pears, and each a *red strap*. It seems this nail was partially a measure how high the miller could keep the water, so that a fly sitting upon the nail would not wet its feet or wings; but the thing appears to have been an annual or regularly recurring ceremony; and it is not too much to assume that it may also have had at first some relation to the marking of a given revolution of time. In England, though the traces of similar customs have almost vanished, they are not entirely gone. I learn from a friend that the mayor of Weymouth pays an annual visit to the Isle of Portland, and after a sumptuous dinner with the corporation, he cuts a notch on a stick taken from crooks fastened to the roof of the kitchen, where at other times it rests, and that many years ago one hundred and fifty of these visits were recorded on such billets. Whether the annually recurring ceremony of the lord mayor and sheriffs of London counting the hob nails before the judges of the Exchequer chamber may not have had a similar origin, I leave others more versed in city antiquities than myself to decide.

That the *nail* may have been held in ancient veneration, possibly in acknowledgment of the utility of the mode of writing called by us arrow-headed, but which foreigners call, perhaps with greater propriety, the cuneiform or nail-headed characters, is remarkably apparent in the figure in the Bibliothèque Nationale, called Caillou (pebble) de Michaud; a woodcut of it will be found in Layard's *Nineveh*, vol. ii. p. 180, where it is figured as a wedge, placed conspicuously as an

object of worship upon an altar covered with hieroglyphics. Layard's words concerning it are : "whether it became sacred from its employment in the written characters, or whether used in the formation of the Assyrian letters, because of any emblematical meaning attached to it, I will not determine." The *Dublin Review*, July 1845, p. 344, expressly calls this object, which Layard calls a wedge, a *nail* ; but the same word *cuneus*, signifying both, shows that the Latins made little difference in form ; and the writer, probably Dr. Hincks, alluding to the place of this emblem upon an altar, adds : "Such a coincidence as this could not have been accidental, and assuredly there is in this fact a sufficiently explicit indication of the religious origin of the principal element of these extraordinary writings."

The nail frequently appears upon the coins and coats of arms of our country, particularly of the name of Ferrers ; and it may be a moot point not considered by our heralds which is cause and which consequence ; nails must be looked upon, in conjunction with the horse shoe, with which they are frequently found, as an object of mystical veneration from the highest antiquity, and every way worthy of a separate investigation, which it is impossible at present to follow. I shall, therefore, now refer only to T. J. Pettigrew's excellent "Essay on superstitions connected with the history and practice of medicine and surgery," to show that the practice of driving nails, as a kind of propitiatory sacrifice, is even yet not obsolete in Britain ; at p. 64, we read : "*Toothache*. A nail

driven into an oak tree is reported to be a cure for this pain."

The preceding may serve as a specimen how, in illustrating the Folkslore of Shakespeare's times or our own, we can scarcely avoid adducing conformities from all other nations at their differing periods of development; and if full accounts of all the religions we are now taught to believe differing had been handed down to us by contemporaneous and competent authorities, there seems little reason to doubt that they would all melt into a congruous mass, wherein pure monotheism or the belief in one God prevailed; this was subsequently modified by raising his attributes, or the visible agents by which he was supposed to act upon mankind, to a participation of his worship: these agencies would be varied by climates and localities, by special events, by particular individuals, till, after the original unity had been lost sight of, every variety of aberration was possible and permitted. Yet it could not happen but that occasional conformities would be perpetuated unintentionally and unnoticed, even amongst the most discordant rites; these, when subsequently collected and placed side by side, are for that reason the more convincing that they all proceed from one source. If, therefore, I adduce passages of the Edda and the Vedas, corresponding with the classic poets; if the myths of Greece and Rome are found in accordance with sagas of Scandinavia, of heathen Prussia, of the numerous Wendingic tribes, or with our own popular superstitions, and these again with one another, though the

path be new, I shall tread it with the greater pleasure, as I hope it may lead others, who have greater leisure and better opportunities, farther in the pursuit, and with more success. As an instance, the fate of Baldur tallies remarkably with the myth of Achilles.—Death of Baldur (*Mallett's Northern Antiq.* Bohn's edit. p. 443).

"Aye," said Frigga, "neither metal nor wood can hurt Baldur, for I have exacted an oath from them all." "What!" exclaimed the woman, "have all things sworn to spare Baldur?" "All things," replied Frigga, "except one little shrub that grows on the eastern side of Valhalla, and is called mistletoe, and which I thought too young and feeble to crave aught from." As soon as Loki heard this, he went away, and resuming his natural shape, cut off the mistletoe, and repaired to the place where the gods were assembled. There he found Hödur, standing apart without partaking of the sports, on account of his blindness, and going up to him, said: "Why dost thou not also throw something at Baldur?" "Because I am blind," answered Hödur, "and see not where Baldur is, and have moreover nothing to throw with." "Come, then," said Loki, "do like the rest, and show honour to Baldur by throwing this twig at him, and I will direct thy arm toward the place where he stands." Hödur then took the mistletoe, and under the guidance of Loki, darted it at Baldur, who, pierced through and through, fell down lifeless." Independently of the extraneous ornaments and surplusage of action, this story differs from the

Grecian tale, where Achilles, invulnerable everywhere but in the heel, is there wounded by Paris, and dies, merely in the change of situation from subjective to objective. In the Edda, safety is *objectively* gained, every thing but the mistletoe being charmed; the safety of Achilles is gained *subjectively* by security within himself, all but at one particular point. This change from active to passive agency is very frequent, and it is necessary to regard it in considering and comparing the tales of all nations; it is not even unfrequently found amongst ourselves at the present time, particularly in the formation of our idiomatical forms of speech.

Ovid, amongst the Latins, because he enlarges more than any other of the poets on their religion, in his *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*, is the author in which we find most conformities. The throwing of an old shoe backwards for luck seems to have its prototype in his story of Deucalion and his wife throwing stones behind them to people the old earth; and that again in the fable of Cadmus sowing the desert plains with dragons' teeth; but this comparison would leave me too little space for the more particular object of my essay; it must be reserved for a more fitting opportunity. Sometimes the congruities are in the expressions. Ovid, in relating the transformation of Cycnus into a swan, an especially mythic bird in the sacred revelations of Scandinavia, says of him, lib. ii. fab. iv. l. 10:—

“Fit nova Cycnus avis, nec se cœloque Jovique  
 Credet ut injustè missi memor ignis ab illo.  
 Stagna colet patulosque lucus: ignemque perosus  
 Quæ colat, eliget contraria flumina flammis.”

In the Edda (*ut supra*, p. 418) we have an account of Niord, a Vanir, or water-god, and of Skad his wife, who was of the race of Æsir or terrestrial deities; they marry, and by this means peace was re-established between the Æsir and Vanir. Njord loved to reside near the sea. One day when Njord came back from the mountains to Noatun, he thus sang:—

“ Of mountains I'm weary,  
 Not long was I there,  
 Not more than nine nights,  
 But the howl of the wolf  
 Methought sounded ill  
 To the song of the swan-bird.”

Or in Resenius' Latin translation:—

“ *Mihi ingrata sunt montana.  
 Longæ fuerint noctes novem :  
 Ululatum ego luporum  
 Censui malum præ cynorum cantum.*”

As, however, many of the conformities we intend to adduce and establish are oral, and deduced from a language existing *before the invention of written characters*, it will be necessary to make a few remarks on this subject, and on etymology in general.\* It is to the confounding the two periods, before and after the introduction of letters, that so much misconception and such unfounded prejudice, such uncalled-for ridicule, has been heaped upon this science. It is evident that during the first period all conformities of language depended upon sound alone, and when letters and alphabets were invented, the laws of arti-

\* *Vide* what I have said before, p. 7.

culate sounds were unfortunately either misunderstood or neglected. In their primitive forms all the newly coined alphabets were both defective and superfluous: the first, because there existed many articulated sounds for which they had no character; the second, because in many instances the same sound had two or more signs. The introduction of alphabetic characters into Europe is said by Herodotus, v. 58, to have been made by Cadmus into Greece from Phœnicia 1257 years before Christ, consisting, like the Runes (and this agreement is of consequence in any future disquisition on written language), of sixteen characters; but neither the subsequent additions by Palamedes and Simonides of many compound characters to the Greek, nor the decree of the Frankish King Chilperic, by which he endeavoured to remedy the defects of the Gothic system, could in any way cure the evil. Like all palliatives of an organic disease, they may be said only to have augmented the malady.

The simple law of oral sounds, and their expression by signs, is—*all signs produced by the same or similar organs of speech, should have the same characters*; and the corollary, as regards our present alphabets, is, that all their characters representing sounds produced by the same or similar organs of speech, must be interchangeable *inter se*,—that is, that they may be put, as far as the ear only is concerned, one for another.

This law, or at least its corollary, as necessary to his dictionary, was, if not first propounded, at least strongly insisted on, by the great lexi-

grapher, Adelung. It is founded on the natural perception, that all men have the same organs for vocal sound; and, consequently, that all sounds from the same organs must be the same. It was, therefore, not without just reasons that the ancient grammarians divided their letters into different classes, according to the organs by which they were produced. They were not always agreed as to the number or extent of their classes,—a variation to be ascribed, no doubt, to our still very imperfect knowledge of the anatomical construction of these organs, and of their combined action. Every other set of organs in the human body have had their monographies, and enjoyed a general or special investigation; but, unluckily, the only system of the human frame I wished to study, seems to be left totally unapproachable, except through the horrors and abominations of the dissecting-room.

The usual division, in this system, is into labials, linguals, dentals, gutturals, palatials, and nasals; but if we refer the gutturals merely to a harder breathing from the throat, and strike out the two last as merging in the former, we have three classes to which all the characters of our present alphabet may be referred; and this is, I suppose, the meaning of a writer in Rees' *Cyclopædia* (art. Stenography), who engages to express all ideas common to mankind in general, by three characters, which may be known all over the civilized world. He intended, I suppose, to give each class a generic instead of the specific signs now in use for their varieties. Vowels come, of course, into no consideration in our oral etymologies; in the earliest



alphabets they had no existence. But I cannot better conclude this subject and chapter than by the following excellent remarks by Jones, in his Greek Grammar, which bear admirably on the subject:—

“To the interchange of the homogeneous consonants it is chiefly owing that the primæval languages of men, at first rude and barren, became copious: the same original term hence splitting itself into many, was afterwards diversified into dialects, and at length lost in distinct languages. Nor is it, I conclude, beyond the reach of philological inquiry to prove that the simple terms of any one language have their kindred terms in all other languages; disguised, indeed, by the differences of character, terminations, and meaning; and that they may be traced back through the several changes of social life, till they meet, like so many spreading branches, in a single root.”

## CHAPTER II.

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### WENDIC DUALITIES TRACED AND COMPARED.

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Ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius.

THE unity of the Deity, one universal governing and directing power in the universe, one great First Cause, is no doubt the earliest, because the simplest mode by which the Creator and Preserver of all things can be presented to the human understanding. The reasoning faculties of men, unable long to embrace infinities, soon however assumed a separate creator for all they felt or saw around them ; and the unity of the Divinity, that earliest creed of all nations, then became lost. As we, however, intend to treat only incidentally of the theogonies and creeds of the East, it will be sufficient, as regards these, to introduce the testimony of Sir Wm. Jones, in his learned parallel of the gods of Greece and India (*Works*, Lond. 1799, vol. i. p. 249) in this respect.

“ It must always be remembered that the learned Indians, as they are instructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only one supreme being, whom they call Brahma, or the GREAT ONE, in the neuter gender ; they believe his essence to be infinitely removed from the comprehension of any mind but his own ; they suppose him to manifest his

power by the operation of his divine spirit, whom they name Vishnu the pervader, and Parayan, the moving on the water."

And so much to the same purpose is found at p. 229, that I cannot avoid a quotation in which my views are sanctioned by so great an authority.

" We cannot justly conclude by arguments preceding the proof of facts that one idolatrous people must have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another, since gods of all shapes and dimensions may be framed by the boundless power of the imagination, or by the frauds and follies of men in countries never connected; but when features too strong to have been accidental are observable in different systems of polytheism, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and improve the likeness, we can scarce help believing that some connexion has immemorially subsisted between the several nations who have adopted them; it is my design in this essay to point out such a resemblance between the popular worship of the old Greeks and Italians and that of the Hindoos; nor can there be room to doubt of a great similarity between their strange religions and that of Egypt, China, Persia, Phrygia, Phœnice, and Syria, to which, perhaps, we may safely add some of the southern kingdoms and even islands of America, *while the gothic system which prevailed in the northern regions of Europe was not merely similar to those of Greece and Italy, but almost the same in another dress, with an embroidery of images apparently Asiatic.* From all this, if it be satisfactorily proved, we may infer a general union or affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world, at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God."

Conforming to this view, but from differing and additional data, we shall proceed to show, from the principal mythologies of Europe, as adduced by their best writers, the acknowledgment of one supreme God,—

Father of All, in every age,  
 In every clime adored  
 By saint, by savage, or by sage,  
 Jehovah, Jove, or Lord,—

to whom all the other divinities of their several Olympus, Asgard, Alborz, or Meru, were subordinate.

In Greece, the supremacy of a clouded mysterious *fate* obtained in the earliest periods when Homer and Hesiod sang, and the subsequent philosophers in vain attempted to work out the idea, and to fix it in a first cause. Aulus Gellius (lib. vi. cap. 2) gives us the views of Chrysippus, the golden-mouthed, as follows :

“*Fatum definit sempiterna et indeclinabilis series rerum et catena volvens semet ipsa sese et implicans per æternos consequentiæ ordines et quibus apta connexaque est.*”

But he proves the unsatisfactory nature of the definition, by adding the disparaging judgment of Cicero.

“*Itaque M. Cicero in libro quem de Fato conscripsit, cum questionem istam diceret obscurissimam esse et implicatissimam. Chrysippum quoque philosophum expeditisse se in ea refert his verbis. Chrysippus æstuans laboransque quoniam pacto explicet ab fato omnia fieri et esse aliquid in nobis intricatur hoc modo,*” &c.

This making a thing dark that was dark enough before, though sufficient evidence of the Grecian and Roman belief, is only another proof of the futility of endeavouring with our present faculties to comprehend the Infinite.

In the popular creed this fate was a shadowy indistinct being, undefined because undefinable, under the names of Eimarmene, Pepromene,

Moros, daughter of Erebus and Nox, like Milton's Melancholy,

Of Erebus and blackest midnight born,

dim phantoms, obscure mysteries, by which mankind has always endeavoured to form their own subjective indistinct conceptions into an objective creation of the dreadful and unknown. We find even the father of the gods unable, according to Homer (*Iliad*, xvi. 430), to save Sarpedon, though his son. Pope's translation begins at v. 528.

“ Jove viewed the combat ; whose event foreseen,  
 He thus bespoke his sister and his queen.  
 The hour draws on ; the destinies ordain  
 My godlike son shall press the Phrygian plain.  
 Already on the verge of death he stands,  
 His life is vowed to fierce Patroclus' hands.  
 What passions in a parent's breast debate !  
 Say, shall I snatch him from impending fate,  
 And send him safe to Lycia, distant far  
 From all the danger and the toils of war,  
 Or to his doom my bravest offspring yield,  
 And fatten with celestial blood the field ?”

Juno dissuades him, and

——— “ The cloud-compeller overcome,  
 Assents to fate, and ratifies the doom.”

Bishop Warburton's note on “ *Say, shall I snatch him,*” v. 535, is as follows :

“ It appears by this passage that Homer was of opinion that the power of God could overrule fate or destiny. It has puzzled many to distinguish exactly the notions of the heathen as to this point. Mr. Dryden contends that Jupiter was limited by the destinies, or (to use his expression)

was no better than book (library) keeper to them." The continuation of the note, intended to refute the opinion of Dryden, and all antiquity, smacks more of the orthodox bishop than either of the philologist or philosopher.

The Romans succeeded to much of the Grecian creed: yon *moros* became to their view the cold and undiscovered bourne from which no traveller returns; their end of all things; a *mors*.\* The idea that *mors mus* and *mouse* have anything etymologically in common may appear to many very fanciful, and yet I know districts in England where, when merely pronounced, no difference is perceptible; where bird is sounded *bud*, and horses *hosses*, dropping the *r* entirely; the connexion, however, for both in idea was very prevalent, and in the subjoined note from *Nork's Mythologie der Volkssagen* (Kloster, vol. ix. p. 388) many authorities are adduced confirmatory.

Apollo Smintheus, from *σμινθος*, *mus*, is an unmistakable derivation, and the superstition so generally prevalent amongst the Romans, that the gnawing of a mouse or rat is an immediate sign of death or misfortune to some of the household,

\* "Aber auch die Begriffe *Maus* und *Tod* sind identisch wie schon der eben erwähnte Aberglaube und die Redensart, *mausetodt* bezeugt. In den ägyptischen Hieroglyphen ist die Maus sinbild der Vernichtung (*ἀφανισμός*). Justinus der Martyrer führt sie unter den heiligen Thieren zugleich mit dem Krokodil auf, das den Todtenbringer Typhon representirte und noch jetzt in Indien dem Todtengott Yama geheiligt ist. Apollo hatte auf das Flehen eines Priesters Krinis Mäuse unter das feindliche Heer gesandt wie auf das Gebet seines Priesters Chryses die Pest," etc. etc.

vide Cic. *de Divinit.* ii. 27; Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 574; Liv. xxvii. 23; xxx. 2;\* Plin. *Hist. Nat.* viii. 57; Auson. *Idyll.* xii. 3) is met by an equal extension in Germany even to the present day; and it explains a curious circumstance, that on a fine sculpture of the Last Supper, behind the high altar in the St. Marien Kirche at Lübeck, in one corner, almost imperceptible without being especially pointed out, is the figure of a mouse, an object of great importance to every wandernde Handwerksbursch, as it is the principal Wahrzeichen of that old town, with which he must necessarily make himself well acquainted. This, and further conformities, prove the regular current and unalterable nature of popular ideas in all countries and ages, and show us how much remains to be done before the workings and progress of the human mind can be traced by a comprehensive juxtaposition of its agreements from the earliest periods.

But the Romans seem sometimes to have given to the dimly-shadowed outline of the Greeks a more substantive and especial denomination. To every schoolboy it is known that an oath by the river Styx was binding even to the gods, but it may not be so universally understood that this Styx, more properly Stygius, was probably originally but the name of a deity; at least we find it as such in Ovid, who, in his *Fasti*, has proved himself the best instructed of all the Roman poets in classic mythology. In *Metamorphoses*, lib. iii.

\* "Cumis, adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio usserit Deos, mures in æde Jovis aurum rosisse,—mures Antii coronam auream arrosent."

fab. iii. v. 35, he tells us, when Semele has been induced by Juno in disguise to ask of Jupiter his dangerous visit, arrayed in all the glories of his godhead, the unthinking deity assures her of the performance of her request before he knows its purport, and binds himself beforehand by an oath that heaven itself cannot evade.

Cui Deus, "Elige!" ait, "nullam patiere repulsam.  
 Quoque magis credas : *Stygii quoque conscia sunt*  
*Numina torrentis : Timor et Deus ille Deorum est.*"

The bard of love has certainly here given personality to the dreaded river; and the numen of it, which is in this passage mentioned, may owe the unfrequency of its occurrence amongst the ancients to the dread and horror which hung over the utterance of the names of the highest divinities in all countries: like the ineffable Tetragrammaton of the Hebrews, the AUM of the Hindoos, the ON of Egypt, it may have been nefas to pronounce it, and the cloak of a river was assumed to cheat the conscience of rigid votaries in its use. I shall have future occasion to mention this deity Stygius in accounting for some of the most obscure and most common of our popular superstitions; at present I shall continue my parallel of the classic supreme ones with those of other countries. For the north of Germany, and the Slavic or Wendic tribes, Procopius says: "Habent præterea Slavini legem cautum a majoribus traditum ut inter numerum Deorum, Deum unum illum qui sit fulminis fabricator, *Dominum omnium rerum ac solum Deum esse credunt*, illique bestias, &c. mac-tant." But Helmold, their special historian and



countryman, is more explicit, and uses so exactly the words of Ovid for his supreme Slavonian god, that a suspicion might arise that he had copied the Roman, did we not know that none of Ovid's works were brought to light before the death of this historian, about 1170. Helmold writes, lib. i. cap. 83, § 4: "Inter multiformia verum Deorum numina quibus arva silvas atque tristitias atque voluptates attribuunt, diffitentur unum Deum in cœlis terrisque imperantem, illum prepotentem celestia tantum curare. Hos vero distributis officiis obsequentes de sanguine procecisse et unumquemque eo prestantiorem quo proximorem *illi Deo Deorum.*" This subordination of the deities, or their resolution into mere abstractions, by the more philosophic spirits of Italy, at a time when, according to the satirical expression of Petronius (p. 35), ("nostra regio tam præsentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius posse deum quam hominem invenire") they had already reverted again into pure theism (a natural consequence of this distraction of the mind by such an infinitude of objects), and according to Cicero, one of the strongest-minded spirits of the Augustan age, who tells us, in his *Natura Deorum*, that philosophers then looked on Jupiter merely as the more rarified air or the ether, and Juno his wife as the common air by which the globe we live on is surrounded. As I purpose subsequently to make use of the above conformity betwixt the passage of Ovid and that of an obscure parish priest of Holstein, (who, however, as a missionary and neighbour to the heathen Wends, was in the best position to know

their tenets), I shall now pass them over, and proceed to consider this monotheistical creed as we find it in other countries as well as in our own islands, premising that the singular agreement by which Macrobius (Sat. i. 9) gives these exact words, *Deus Deorum*, as the title of Janus, will be noticed hereafter, when the identity of the double-headed god with the northern Thor will have to be established.

As to England, the late lamented Sharon Turner (*Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, chap. iii. p. 15, 8vo. edit.) in the list of his unitarian nations, must of necessity include our Saxon ancestors, when he says: "The most ancient religions of the world appear to have been pure theism, with neither idols nor temples." Nor does Ledwich, in his *Irish Antiquities*, (p. 8, note), much differ in the expression: "In certain stages of society there is an almost complete identity of *names and usages* in the adoration of the Supreme Being, as far as clouded reason permitted an imperfect knowledge of his attributes." I hope to prove that in this identity of names and usages, the conformities are much beyond what Ledwich had any conception of. Our neighbours the Germans are pretty much in accordance with these views. Pfister, one of their most admired historians (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 325), says of his countrymen: "We (first) find the Germans at that stage of society in which the original child-like innocent conception of the unity of the deity, when idea and perception, God and nature, were one, had been already loosened; and in which

their religious views, more and more broken into by other ideas, had already imbibed the pantheism of the senses, which sees everything animated, and afterwards leans towards polytheism, but yet without allowing the impressions of their first joyous innocence to be entirely effaced.”\*

The opinion of the same author on that passage of Cæsar (*De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. c. 19), “*Deorum numero eos solos dicunt quos cernunt et quorum opibus apertè juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt,*” is to the following effect: as true children of nature, they worshipped sun and moon and fire, certainly not as godheads, but for the beneficial effects experienced. Deities (Roman) they had not heard of even by report.

Mr. Payne Knight (*Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of the Ancients*, § 228, ff. p. 189) seems to intimate, in the following passage, that the step succeeding pure monotheism must necessarily be trinitarianism:—

“This trifurcated division of the personified attributes or modes of action of one first cause, seems to have been the first departure from simple theism, and the foundation of

\* As the sentence in English may appear involved, I give here the original: “Wie finden die Deutschen auf der Stufe in welcher die ursprünglich kindliche Vorstellung von der Einheit Gottes, die Begriffe und Anschauung, Gott und Natur noch völlig eins sind, bereits aufgelöst ist und in dem mehr und mehr durch Begriffe getheilten religiösen Bewusstsein erst sinnlichen Pantheismus der Alles für besetzt hält dann Neigung zur Vielgötterei enthält ohne dass jedoch eine frühere gleichsam aus einer glücklichen Kindheit übrig gebliebene Eindrücke ganz verdrängt werden.”

religious mythology in every part of the earth. Hence almost every nation that has deviated from the rude simplicity of primitive theism, has had its trinity in unity, which (not limited and ascertained by divine revelation) branched out by the natural subdivisions of collective and indefinite ideas into the endless and intricate personifications of particular subordinate materials for the elegant fictions of poetry and art."

It seems, however, more cognate to the march of intelligence in the human mind, and its regular and cautious proceedings, advancing to each stage gradually from the last, that after the unity of deity had appeared inconsistent with the almost equal prevalence of good and evil, the next conclusion would have been a DUALITY OF POWER, ruling and governing the destinies of mortals. Man, weak, impotent, and purblind, soon discovered that, for the consequences of his actions he could account only in their immediate and closest connexion; their remote and distant workings he found himself incompetent to unravel; events happened perhaps as frequently for seeming evil as for the expected and planned good; the deity was propitiated by sacrifices in vain; holocausts were fruitless; hence the idea of some inimical power, that it equally behoved him to worship; and thus originated the duality of two opposing supernatural beings, giving light and darkness, dispensing good and evil, causing fruitful harvests or devastating blight; a natural, nay, almost a necessary conclusion: to his subdued and feeble reason, the great truth was still hidden, which teaches

"All seeming evil universal good."

and hence the great spread of the opinion of two equal and opposed powers.

The Persian system of theogony, the most ancient of which we have definite or distinct knowledge, had arrived at this degree of dual credence, and had maintained it long in full integrity, under the Magi and Gymnosophists, until the introduction of a Mithras as a mediator between these two extremes, shadowed out a weak trinity by an intervening and balancing power.

Plato finds it contrary to reason that man should imagine a single being governing his destinies, that could be both kind and angry, merciful and revengeful, good and evil, and man therefore formed a system of two equally infinite deities, the evidence of which is found in all countries: Ahriman and Ormuzd with the Persians; Osiris and Typhon amongst the Egyptians, &c. The Manichean heresy was the first and perhaps only sect in which this doctrine was essayed to be interwoven into the Christian creed. Manes framed a good principle, which he called light, and which acted solely beneficently; and another which he called darkness, a gross and corrupt substance, which did nothing but evil. Amongst the Hebrews, traces of this idea are supposed to be discovered in the Sammael of the Talmud, opposed to the beneficent Jehovah. (*J. C. Wolf de Manicheismo ante Manicheos*, Hamburg, 1707, 8vo.) And this evil spirit is again supposed to be Azahel of *Levit.* xvi. v. 8, which our translators have paraphrased "scape-goat," though the real Hebrew word appears as a gloss in the margin.

The question whether, when this doctrine had nearly pervaded the entire world, an exoteric doctrine of unity was still taught in secret by the philosophers, or depicted and explained in the mysteries at Eleusis, or in the caves of Mithras, is one we can at present scarcely resolve, as comparatively nothing is known of the first, and the accounts handed down of the practices at initiations into the latter, are principally by Christian zealots and adversaries.

The religion of the *Romans* was pure and simple, till their acquaintance with the Greek mythology, and the intrusion of Homeric divinities. Pliny tells us (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. c. 10) that only after luxury had begun to sap the foundations of the state (which commenced after the conquests of Greece and Macedon), were costly statues erected to the gods; and Plut. (No. 8) says of Numa, that he did not wish to represent the most high things by low ones. Antiphanes says, God is known by no form, nor seen by any eye, nor represented by any image; and the figure of Isis over the temple of Sais, to which Plutarch ascribes the fine inscription, I AM ALL THAT WAS, AND IS, AND IS TO BE, was veiled.

How different from this the subsequent ages of the republic and the empire! Prudentius becomes poetical when Christian indignation against pagan polytheism induces him to urge the number and objects of this worship against his unconverted adversary, Symmachus:—

“Quicquid humus, pelagus, cœlum mirabile gignunt  
Id duxere Deos, colles, freta, flumina, flammæ,

Hæc sibi per varias formata elementa figuras  
 Constituere patres, hominumque vocabula mutis  
 Scripserunt statuis, vel Neptunum vocitantes  
 Oceanum vel Cyaneas cava flumina nymphas  
 Vel sylvas Dryadas, vel devia rura Napæas," &c. &c.

I have already mentioned the effort of Cicero to reason away this polytheism under the cloak of attributes or as symbols of a superior power, and later on, Seneca pursued the same course in a very curious passage (*Quest. Nat.* ii. 45), which appears worthy of being introduced:—

“ Per Jovem custodem rectoremque universi, animum ac spiritum mundani hujus operis dominum et artificem intellige: vis illum fatum vocare? non errabis: hic est ex quo suspensa sunt omnia, causa causarum. Vis illam providentiam dicere? recte dicis: est enim cujus consilio huic mundo providetur ut inconcussus est et actus suos explicet. Vis illum naturam vocare? non peccabis; est enim ex quo nata sunt omnia cujus spiritu vivimus. Vis illum vocare mundum? non falleris: ipse enim totum quod vides totis suis partibus inditus et se sustinens via sua.”

For all practical purposes, notwithstanding the unitarian declaration of Helmold, at the period at which we first gain any certain knowledge of the Wendic tribes, they had advanced in their metaphysical belief to this stage of duality: BIELBOG and ZERNIBOG representing in the northern parts of Germany respectively the Ormuzd and Ahri-man of their Persian ancestors,\* by very signifi-

\* Perhaps even in name or signification, for the ancient Persian language is so nearly akin to much of the German, that it may be allowed to find a significance for both names in that language, so that *Bielbog* and *Zernibog* would be but synonyms or translations of Ormuzd and Ahriman; the

cant titles expressive of *good* and *evil*; attaching to their terms for these qualities their vernacular bog as the unity of might and power: for *biel* signifies white, consequently good; and *zerni*, or *zriny*,\* black, or bad.

I am well aware that Jacob Ludwig Grimm, in the following passage of his *Deutsche Mythologie* (p. 936), admits this duality of the Wends, as well as generally in the Persian and Indian mythologies, for only a comparatively recent period:—

“Einen durchdringenden Unterschied zwischen gutem und bösem Geiste, Ormuzd und Ahriman kennt weder die Indische und griechische noch die deutsche Götterlehre. Vor der Gewalt des *einen* allwaltenden Gottes verschwindet des Kakodemonis macht. Aus dieser Einheit erwachsen dann Trilogien.”

And in his note he adds:—

“Der alte Slavische Glaube stellt einen weissen und schwarzen Gott auf. Bielbog und Schernebog: dieser Dualismus scheint mir aber weder durchdringend noch ursprünglich.”

But as the venerable author gives us only a bare opinion, unsupported by facts or authorities, it may be permitted us to weigh and examine other

first seems plainly recognisable as *Or*, or *Ur-muth*, the yore or first cause; the second, or Ahriman, would be Nimrod the great hunter, the Irmin or Herman of later days, when the most objectionable part of the idea had been dropped, and only so much retained as implied force or power.

\* There is very little doubt that the German *zorn*, anger, is a derivative from this name, which Adelung thinks is but an onomatopoeia from the action: we have the word only in its consequences, actively to *tear*; passively to *terrify*, the German *zerren*: *zer-bild*, a bogle.



proofs. That a duality existed amongst the earliest inhabitants of Italy, no one can doubt who has attentively studied the opened graves of Etruria: in one of them was found a coloured representation of the weighing of a soul after death, where the attendant bad angel is conspicuously distinguished from the good spirit, which is white, by a dark shade; and whether they represent independent deities, or attendant and subordinate ministers, there can be no doubt their colour was derived from the power from which they had their mission, and the effect of their supposed influence for good or evil. The following extract from Micali's *Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani* (plate lii.), and his reference to Inghirami, will fully confirm this view, if confirmation were wanting:—

“ Benchè le pitture della grotta sopra mentovata (sepolchri di Tarquinia) sieno per la massima parte cadute e smarrite a cagione dell' umidità, si rapresentano solo in questa tavola e nelle seguenti le piu conservate delineate da un abilissimo artista.—In tutto questo fregio vedesi espressa la dottrina etrusca sulo stato delle anime separate dai corpi. Sono i Genj conduttori e custodi delle anime rappresentate sempre alate ed hanno tutti una particolare foggia di calzare zoccolotti con pendagli simili a quelli che vedonsi su le sculture nazionali (vede *Mon. Tav.* 26, 33, 34, 43, 44). I buoni Genj destinati a condurre in cielo le anime pure tengono un sottil bastone nella destra; all' incontro i *Genj cattavi son figurati tutti neri* con lunghi martelli coi quali spingono e percuotono quelle anime impure che debbono consegnare nel Tartaro alle Furie.”

In the German mythology we have an analogous representation of deity, *vide* Vollmer's *Dict. of Mythology*, s. v. *Hel*, and the figure referred to, which is half white, half black, to

represent the union of the two powers. The passage of the younger Edda, on which this is based, will be found in Mallet's *Northern Antiquit.* (Bohn's ed. p. 423): "The one half of her body is livid (black), the other half the colour of human flesh (white)." The great authority of the feminine potency of this Hel as Frau Hela is much worked out by Grimm and the other German mythologists.

Another authority, that of Sir W. Scott, in his *Demonology*, p. 87, may carry the weight of general principles also against Grimm's assertion:—

"The creed of Zoroaster, which naturally occurs to unassisted reason as a mode of accounting for the mingled existence of good spirit in the visible world, that belief which in one modification or another supposes the coexistence of a benevolent and malevolent principle, which contend together without either being able decisively to prevail over his antagonist, leads the fear and awe deeply impressed on the human mind to the worship as well of the author of evil, so tremendous in all the effects of which credulity accounts him the primary cause, as to that of his great opponent, who is loved and adopted as the father of all that is good and bountiful. Nay, such is the timid servility of human nature, that the worshippers will neglect the altars of the Author of Good rather than those of Arimanes, trusting with indifference to the well-known mercy of the one, while they shrink from the idea of irritating the vengeful jealousy of the awful father of evil."

But I should not hesitate to find both these German names and divinities in one of the most famous temples of the east; in *Baal-bec* we immediately perceive the verbal conformity which its earlier name of *Tad-mor* fully corroborates. *Tad* (the modern *pade*) or *pog*, is still the common

name of the frog throughout all north Germany, of which we have a partial glimpse when we call the young frog a *tad*-pole, so that the connexion in the name of a temple, whose ruins still fill the beholder with astonishment, dedicated to the Baal or Bielbog, may be traced to our fens;\* but we have still more positive testimony to the existence of this Wendic duality there in its distinct and positive separation, from an inscription and sculpture noted by Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. ii. p. 389, plate clxxxix. His words are—

“Un beau monument de Rome nous donne la connoissance de deux divinités Syriennes de Palmyre: l'un est le dieu Aglibolus (Aglibocus ?), l'autre le dieu Malachbelus. Les figures des deux s'y voient avec une grande inscription Grecque, et une autre Palmyrienne qu'il est très-difficile d'expliquer.”

The figures are partly mutilated, but they appear to have been joining their hands together in token of peace and of amity, which is corroborated by the copy of a similar subject from the Justinian Gallery, on the same plate, fig. 4. I state this in opposition to the views of Montfaucon, who does not think the friendly action could be made out, even if the hands and arms were perfect, which they are not; my reason for adducing them is more for the duality evidently expressed in the names which is borne out by the figures; the first being a figure without arms, but seemingly having held in the left hand a papyrus roll representing

\* I might here adduce the name of Paddock, the spirit-frog, or toad of Shakespeare, &c. as confirmatory, but I reserve that and many other deductions to a future chapter.

the Bielbog; the other crowned and armed with lorica, sword and spear; the latter can be supplied from the Justinian copy; but the most singular appendage in which both sculptures agree is a half-moon appearing with its *horns* on each side of the shoulders as if borne on the back; this is so distinguishing a mark of the Wendic Pucks and the Latin Satyrs, that I shall have to recur to it again when I come to treat of these figures, and shall then show its curious conformity. As to the name Malachbelus,\* it bears so strong a verbal resemblance to the most noted hill in that district of Germany, so emphatically called Odin's or Woden's wold (in which superstition is particularly at home, and the famous myth of the wilde Jagd found there more frequently, but also more solemnly and officially attested than elsewhere), a large granite cone rising conspicuously from the neighbouring country called the *Melibocus*, in the mouths of the peasantry the *Mälkenberg*; and is so little to be doubted the latinised term of Zernibog, Malus-boccus, that I should have no hesi-

\* The deity *Bemilucio*, found in Burgundy—Montfaucon, *Ibid.* plate CXCII. fig. 5; and another, called *Abellio*, in the *Novem Populania*, *Ibid.* p. 432, would require consideration before we could claim them as belonging to the same category. But he has an engraving, *Ibid.* plate CXCIII. fig. 2, and page 436, found at Autun, which is almost the exact counterpart of the Palmyrene sculpture, deducting the palm in the centre of the figures to mark the locality by a rebus: it is true the half-moon is transferred from the shoulders of the one in this engraving to the hand of the other, but the regal insignia by a sceptre and a crown of leaves, mark the identity without the arms.

tation in stating that its allusion was to the same deity, though the Asiatic form of Belus had been preferred to the European Bog. I may here add that the characters stated as Palmyrean by Montfaucon have in many letters great similarity with those of an inscription found beneath a sphynx at Thorda in Siebenbürgen (of which a woodcut of the size of the original is given in the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, published by Brockhaus, at Leipsig, in vol. viii. no. 118; and again, vol. xii. no. 301); and the figure of this sphynx is almost identical with another discovered at Colchester, and figured in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* (vol. ii. pp. 30 and 367). Another bronze Buzogan, or Pusikan (Malleus), with similar characters, has also been found in Hungary, on which a somewhat similar sphynx is found with many adjuncts. The study of these monuments in contact may perhaps lead to some interesting results on all, but which it would at present be premature to comment on.

To revert, however, to Grimm's denial of a duality in German heathendom, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 936, 2nd edit.

“Die Vorstellung des Teufels und teuflischer Geister, welche allmählich auch in dem Volk's glauben grossen Umfang gewonnen und so feste wurzel geschlagen hat, war unserem Heidenthum fremd.”

But it may be doubted whether the “deep root” it took in the minds of the people could have been introduced *after* they had become Christians, with its many allusions to pagan worship and retrospections of heathendom, and it may therefore be here

the place to compare the philologist's ideas of the origin of those subordinate supernatural beings with those which on a broader basis of comparison may appear to be nearer the truth, and from etymological sources, which he has but little touched, may be almost proved identical.

Drake (*Shakespeare and his Times*, vol. i. p. 315), mentions a four-fold division in our popular beliefs, viz., fairies, witchcraft, magic, and apparitions; which he respectively illustrates by his remarks on the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, on *Macbeth*, the *Tempest*, and *Hamlet*. It is with the first of these alone we have any concern at present in an etymological meaning, and which alone is here intended, because the derivation of a name often gives the best understanding of the thing.

FAIRIES. The inferior actors in the pagan creed of our ancestors under this division, may be conveniently classed into three varieties: fairies, elves, and dwarfs. Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. 1843, p. 408) mentions only "Wichte and Elbe," and p. 414, "Elbe and Zwerge," with merely incidental notice of the fairies, as if the latter were unheard of in Germany; but there can be no doubt they were known there as the *feen*, *feinen*, and *witten*, or *weissen*. These three species all agree in some particulars with each other; as in smallness of stature; in sprightliness, sometimes mixed with delight in mischief-making; and in appearance by night, particularly moonlight; the elves principally clothed, the fairies in different colours, most commonly green or red; the dwarfs, on the contrary, are often black in tint, and

hurtful in disposition; they belong more properly to underground haunts, where they disport themselves; the elves and fairies have their vantage ground on the earth's surface, in flowery meads, or under the shade of some old moss-grown oak.

As to the fairies, many have been the derivations of this singular name, and some curious deductions have been drawn, and differences sought to be established, betwixt the *oriental* fairies, as derived from the Persian *peri*, and the German *feen*, or *feinen*, as derived from the Gothic or Scandinavian creed; but human nature is too much alike in all countries and ages, as that two systems of mythology should have had room to rise from two perfectly independent and unconnected sources; and if we at all believe in the existence of a primitive race, it is straining our fidelity too far to suppose that such an early family could have existed without peopling the visible world around it with an invisible and supernatural population, both for subjective aid to man in his varied fortunes through life, and afterwards of objective aid to the trees and waters which man was feigned to molest.

I have already mentioned the Persian *peris* as one derivation of the name, and Moore's tale under this name in *Lallah Rookh* will give the English reader a poetical and perhaps too favourable account of their sphere of activity, according to the oriental notions concerning them. Casaubon, who saw every thing with Greek eyes, in his treatise, *De satyrica poesia*, lib. i. cap. 1, finds the root in his favourite language: "Attici et Iones satyros

vocarunt φηρας vel φηρεας—a word which Hesychius translates by centauri (a signification which will do good service hereafter). And Nestor relates in Homer (*Il.* i. 268) that Perithous, Dryas, Cœneus Exadus, &c. φηρσιν, with whom Ovid agrees, *Met.* lib. viii. fab. iv. v. 44.

“Et cum Peri-theo\* felix concordia Theseus  
 ————— et jam non femina Cœneus  
 Hippothoosque Dryasque et Creteus Amyntore Phœnix.”

Some have derived the name from the last syllable of the Latin *nymphæ*, who are also frequently confounded with the fairies; Milton sings of

“The faery ladies dancing on the hearth.”

And Theocritus (*Hylas*, v. 44) has wakeful nymphs, with all the attributes and customs of our old ballads.

“And if the house be foul,  
 Up stairs we nimbly creep,  
 And find the sluts asleep.”

Baxter also, in his notes to Horace (*Ode* ii. § 19), says, “*Nymphæ et satyræ erant dei manes (lares) qui vulgo creduntur etiam hodie in silvis saltitare. Satyri vero capripedes quod primis in temporibus silvestres homines caprinis pellibus amiciebantur.*” So again, Ovid, *Met.* ii. 153:—

“Pan ibi dum teneris jactat sua carmina nymphis.”

Translated by Golding:—

“Then Pan among the fairie elves that danced round together.”

\* I look upon many of the classic proper names but as translations or adaptations from older mythologies: thus Peri-theos would be the Peri-spirit or sprite, from *θεος*, deity: so would Hippothoosque, the horse deity.



Amongst the Romans, however, the dreaded *parcæ*, or fates, had much in common with the fairies; they were invited, like them, to the christening of infants, whose fortunes they prophesied; and the euphonistic term by which the cannie Scotch seek to propitiate their good-will, as the "gude people," had its exact counterpart in the Grecian term for these inscrutable characters as Eumenides, though their character, as ireful, direful, and avenging, were in direct opposition. Nay, they partook something of the power of fate itself (*fatum*), to which their Italian name of *fata*, as in the *fata Morgana*, deceptions of the fairy *Morgana*,\* bears witness. So the wife of Faunus was *Fatua*, by which name, according to Donatus, *ad Eun. Ter.* s. 8, the nymphæ were also known, and which is also identical with the Latin *vates*, the original office of the poet being that of the soothsayer. From this appellative the modern Italians have their word *fatate*, to enchant, and *fata*, enchantress; so Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* :—

“ Queste ch’ or *Fate* e dagli Antichi foro  
 Gia dette *ninfe* e Dee con piu bel nome.”

The French make the word nearer our English

\* The name of this powerful fay has been much disputed; in lieu of a better origin, the reader may be reminded that one of the *Virgines Fatidicæ* of the ancient Germans was named *Gana*, perhaps generic, to which was added the intensitive *mor*, signifying undefined space, or magnitude: a similar *Murgan* is met with in Germany, *vide* Grimm, *D. M.* p. 1225, note to p. 781; and also p. 384. We have, *Ibid.* p. 431, note, gens *gnana*, for the fairy people.

construction, as in the *Roman de la Guerre de Troie* :—

“ Mout ont Jason entr' auls loe  
Bient dient los qu'il est *fæe*.”

Which is pretty much the Scotch word, but, by a slight variation, on the principle that drunkenness is (like anger) a short madness, they neatly cloak it when they call a man overcome with liquor, *fou*.

Perhaps, after all, the Persian derivation from *peri*, is the one most generally followed, and it must in that language certainly be very old to give a name which continued through all ages to the oldest province of that empire; nor is it unknown in their proper names, as we read that the wife of Artaxerxes was called Perizatis, Perizadeh, or the born *peri*, so that the doctrine of *peris* may be as old as Zoroaster. This name itself is said to be the old Zend word *pereh*, or *perekeh*, which is variously interpreted by Ouseley and Whal: the former says it means beautiful; the latter calls it winged; perhaps in that country the presence of one may have been thought to supply the other quality: but let us now essay a new and more simple mode of arriving at a meaning for the word, and in part from our own language.

The *fay* of the French, Scotch, and English, plur. *fairies*, is the German *fe*, plur. *feen*;\* In the Latin

\* In Dutch, *veen* is, upon etymological principles, the same word, nor is it dissimilar in sense, meaning the inhabitants of fens, from which we gain the *Finns*, who, however, are said to have had their name from their practising witchcraft. On this subject I may adduce generally on such

language we have a prefix *ve* to the name of Jove, *Ve-jovis*; also *Ve-dius* as a synonym or predicate of Pluto (*Aulus Gellius*, lib. v. cap. 12), which Ovid in his *Fasti*, as festum *Vejovis* (lib. iii. v. 427) states to have been of doubtful meaning, even in his day. The passage is curious, though somewhat discursive:—

“Una nota est Martis Nonis: sacrata quod illis  
 Templa putant lucos Vejovis ante duos.  
 Romulus ut saxo locum circumdedit alto,  
 Quilibet, huc, inquit, confuge tutus eris.  
 O quam de tenui Romanus origine crevit!  
 Turba vetus quam non invidiosa fuit!  
 Ne tamen ignaro novitas tibi nominis obstet;  
 Disce quis iste deus, curve vocetur ita.  
 Jupiter est juvenis: juveniles adspice vultus  
 Adspice deinde manum: fulmina nulla tenet.  
 Fulmina, post ausos cœlum affectare gigantas,  
 Sumpta Jovi: primo tempore inermis erat.  
 Ignibus Ossa novis et Pelion altior Ossa  
 Arsit et in solida fixus Olympus humo.  
 Stat quoque capra simul: nymphæ pavisse feruntur  
 Credites: infanti lac dedit illa Jovi.  
 Nunc vocor ad nomen. Vegrandia farra colonæ  
 Quæ male creverunt, vescaque parva vocant.  
 Vis ea si verbi est: cur non ego Vejovis ædem  
 Ædem non magni suspicer esse Jovis?”

etymologies what Creuzer says, vol. i. p. xv., addressed to F. C. Bauer:—“Ich habe mich gegen ihn selbst schriftlich gleich damals ohngefähr in der Weise ausgesprochen: so ihr nicht werdet wie die Kinder (d. h. kindlich nicht kindisch) werdet ihr ins Paradies (des Mythos) nicht eingehen.” I have even then declared myself to him something in this manner: if you become not as children (that is, child-like, not childish) ye can never enter into the paradise (of mythology). And compare vol. iv. p. 535, of the same work.

Here, therefore, we have, with the precision and reason of a lexicographer, at a distance of eighteen centuries, the meaning of *small*, *diminutive*, attached to the monosyllable *ve* and the *Vedius*, as Pluto, means the deity of the lower regions; low being looked upon as inferior not only in bulk but in place. Independently of the technical term of *Vegradia*, adduced by the poet for shrivelled or small-corned wheat, he might have brought forward *ve-sanus* as *un* or *little-witted*; *ve-cors* as sluggish, disheartened. So that the ruling meaning of *ve* is *little*; in fact, the English *wee*, the Scotch *wie*, and from it all the other qualities of beauty, sprightliness, &c. easily follow; for most natural objects are more beautiful the more they diminish in size, as miniatures are more agreeable to the eye than larger pictures. The converse proposition was well illustrated by Swift, when describing Gulliver amongst the Brobdignags: the maiden Glumdalclitch, who was to attend upon him, &c., was considered by her equals as comely and beautiful, but Gulliver declares he could never look upon her face and naked skin without a feeling of horror and disgust at its ugliness. Let the reader examine his own skin through a powerful microscope, or if any corroboration of this view were necessary, it would be in the synonym which the earliest German poets use for the modern *feen*, this is: *feinen*, our English *fine*, in the sense of the poet:—

“Fine by degrees, and beautifully less.”

Thus Gottfried von Strasburg, in his *Tristan*, says he saw a little syren-like dog:—

“Dez wart dem Herzoge gesandt  
Uz Avalum, der *Feinen* landt,  
Von einer Gottinne,”

that was sent the duke from Avallon, the fairies' land, by a goddess: where we may observe the early acquaintance with our own mythology, and the fable bower of King Arthur in fairy land. Also in the old German romance of *Isotte and Blanche*, a huntsman, who sees Isotte sleeping, exclaims:—

“Dez sie menschlich sei!  
Sie ist schöner denn eine *Feine*:  
Von Fleische noch von Beine  
Kunte nit geworden  
So schönes auf der Erden.”

“Is she of human frame? She is more beautiful than a fairy: of flesh and bone nothing could be more beautiful on earth.”

The next species of these airy nothings are the ELFS, or ELVES; but as I shall in this essay principally confine myself to a popular exposition and North Germany, that will not allow me to follow Grimm (*D. M.* in l. c.) in his very elaborate exposition, particularly as his principal sources are the Eddas and northern sagas; only so much will be apparent to the most casual observer, that the boundaries betwixt the various divisions are very uncertain and shadowy, and the partition (p. 414) into a trilogy of *liösálfar*, *döckálfar*, *svartálfar*, the first and third white and black elves; the second an intermediate tint of grey (explained by the author as *obscurus, fuscus*), seems hardly borne out by his authorities. Upon this, however, there

can be no doubt that the radical meaning of *elf* is taken from their prevailing *white* colour or dress, the Latin *albus*; as our *fair* is a legitimate child of fairie; which again is corroborated by our *wight*, more, however, apparent in the German form *wichte*, and the old German *wight* and platt, *wide*: so in Arndt's *Mährchen* (Berlin, 1843, p. 51) the title of one of his tales, "Krengel-Kranz de Wide," the parent of the abused word witch: Chaucer calls them *wightes* coupled with elves in the *Miller's Tale*, where the carpenter addresses Nicholas:—

"And shoke him hard, and cried spitously,  
 What Nicholas! what how man! loke adoun,  
 Awake and thinke on Christes passioun,  
 I crouche thee from *elves* and from *wightes*."

Perhaps this definition of alb, elves, and white, is borne out in nothing so much as by their modern successors the *weisse Frauen*, the white ladies, a species of spirits that to the present day is most firmly believed to haunt the families of certain royal and noble houses, and to foretell the death of the head of the line, *vide* Grimm, *D. M.* 368, and Nork's *Volksagen Kloster*, ix. p. 520, where she is put directly for another name of Grimm's Frau Holla (*D. M.* 245, 1042). In Nork, *Ibid.* 544, she appears in the Prussian colours, partly coloured black and white, like the black and white chequered figure of a Taurus or Thor in Wagner's *Handbuch der Mythologie*, plate i. fig. 2, found at Carlsburg in Hungary, or the representations found in the graves of Etruria, above mentioned, page 46. Whether this choice of the Prussian

national colours\* has attached the white lady more especially to the royal family of Prussia it is impossible to say, but every one in Berlin knows that she flits continually about the immense range of buildings forming the royal palace, and appears regularly to foretell and bewail the death of every royal scion of the Hohenzollern. In one instance the belief has interfered in history, and may have had great influence on the destinies of Europe, as the death of the first king of Prussia, Frederick I., was, if not caused, at least accelerated, by his firm belief in such a superstition. Geppert's *Chronicle of Berlin* (vol. i. p. 346) relates that the second wife of Frederick the First, king of Prussia, was afflicted with a degree of insanity, and in such had a peculiar affection for being dressed in white muslin. One afternoon, she contrived to escape from the ladies who had her in charge, and wandered perhaps instinctively towards the king's apartment, and in her way thither broke through a glass door, which cut her severely in several places, sending the blood over her dress; she found the king indulging in an after-dinner dose, from which her entrance suddenly awakened him, when her unexpected appearance, all streaming with blood, and her white garment, coupled with the well-known belief in the general visits of a disquieted ancestress, so alarmed him, that he was

\* The black and white stripes, which, as the original national colours of Prussia, have now become a party emblem against the tri-colour, black, gold, and red, of *das grosse Deutschland*, are a legacy of the Teutonic knights, whose habit was a black mantle with a white cross.

taken violently ill, and notwithstanding the explanations of his attendants as to the perfectly natural nature of the event, he died very shortly after, in 1713, fully satisfied that the "weisse Frau" had appeared to him, and that his doom was irrevocable.

More particulars, and especial dates of her appearance, will be found in *Spener's Berlin Zeitung*, 25th Feb. 1848.

It will be seen that this belief is identical with Irish Banshee, of which such a graphic description is given in Mr. T. Crofton Croker's *Irish Fairy Tales*, vol. i. p. 217. I do not know what derivation the Irish mythologists give to this national spirit, but it appears to me that a very satisfactory meaning is to be found in the German word *bannen*, to lay a ghost, from *ban*, a word of wide use in German jurisprudence of the middle ages, and whose significations, therefore, are coextensive. Luther used *bannen*, the verb, in his translation of the Bible, to signify the destruction of a city, or the rooting out of a people; sufficiently significative when applied by the Irish to an individual worthy of a distinctive notice at his decease, and the extinction of his race.

White was the celestial colour of all the Wendic tribes, whence the names of most of their deities: *Witislaw*, *Serovit*, *Herovit*, *Borevit*, *Rugevit*, *Gerovit*; and *wheat* is also so called from its pre-eminent whiteness amongst the cereals, rice being out of the question; the wheat-ear on our earliest British and other coins was only a rebus of the white or good God. In fact, in Kühn's *Märkischen Sagen*, p. 371, the wichten of other pro-



vinces are there called Bihl-weissen, or Biel-weissen, an actual pleonasm, unless the duplication is intensitive, as white—white. But it is impossible incidentally to exhaust the subject, and we will therefore conclude it by remarking that the Latin *albus* is frequently found in other languages: the Alpen, Alb-pen, the *white* tops or Alps, clothed with eternal snows: the river Elbe, from the white sands hurried along in its waters, if not, perhaps, from a sanctity which many rivers in the north enjoy equally with the Ganges or Godavery, as another *white* river, the Wisla, or Vistula, certainly does: so, finally, our own Albion is Alb-oen in Danish, and still the plural of *oe*, island; of which Britain, or Bright, or *Brecht*—(the *brecht* in Albrecht, or Albert)—*oen* is but a translation.

From being purely beneficent genii, in process of time the fairies came to be considered mischievous, then malevolent, particularly in this latter respect, after the introduction of Christianity. In the prose Edda in the *Gylfa Gynning*, Gangler, after having inquired concerning different objects of Scandinavian theogony, comes to the “various celestial regions:—

§ 17. “‘Thou tellest me many wonderful things of heaven,’ said Gangler, ‘but what other homesteads are to be seen there?’ ‘There are many other fair homesteads there,’ replied Har: one of them is called Elf-home (*Alfheim*) wherein dwell the beings called the elves of light; but the elves of darkness live under the earth, and differ from the others still more in their actions than in their appearance. The elves of light are fairer than the sun, but the elves of darkness blacker than pitch.’”

Various heavenly mansions are then described, called Breidablik, Gletnir, Himinbjorg, and Valaskjalf, belonging to Odin, and roofed with silver:—

“When All-father is seated on this throne he can see over the whole world. On the southern edge of heaven is the most beautiful homestead of all, brighter than the sun itself. It is called Gimli, and shall stand when both heaven and earth have passed away, and good and righteous men shall dwell therein for everlasting ages.”

It is thus spoken of in the *Voluspa*:—

“A hall sees she standing  
Than the sun fairer,  
With its glittering gold roof  
Aloft in Gimli.  
All men of worth  
Shall there abide,  
And bliss enjoy  
Through countless ages.”

“‘But what will preserve this abode when Surtur’s fire consumes heaven and earth?’ said Gangler. ‘We are told,’ replied Har, ‘that toward the south there is another heaven above this, called Andläng,\* and again above this a third

\* There is in the judicial vocabulary of the middle ages a curious use of this word, or of *Andelagium*, “*eadem notione*,” as Ducange says with *Adelanc*, but which he does not know how to account for. “*Incertum hactenus manet quid proprie sit Andelanga vel Andelagg in hisce formulis. Nam quod Malbrancus, loco citato, crematurum interpretatur non video plane. Soliti sunt, inquit, antiquitas in symbolum juris proprii tradere in manus possessori.—Andelaginem i. e. crematram si domus vel habitaculum.*” Here it seems evidently to mean what we now call *Andirons*, and, *pars pro toto*, to signify the hearth, and that again, by an extension of the same figure, the entire habitation: *potwallowing*, or *boiling the pot*, was in some boroughs before the Reform bill evidence of a householder or hearthholder, and gave a vote, as at Pontefract: whether the simple idea of burning, *cre-*

heaven called Vidblain (white plain). In this last we think Gimli must be seated, but we deem that the elves of light abide in it now.'”

It would seem certain from this passage that Snorre Sturleson, the writer of the younger Edda, has here endeavoured to graft the Christian belief of angels and devils on the old Norse doctrines, though no doubt the original theory, as better preserved in our popular belief, was that both were a separate and distinct class of beings, totally unconnected. But that this theory was pretty generally established in all Christian kingdoms, we find from Chaucer, who wrote about two hundred years after the compilation of this younger Edda. From the *Miller's Tale*, it seems to have been customary for our ancestors to guard themselves from elves and wicked wights at night by a spell.

“ What Nicholas ! what how man, loke adoun,  
Awake and think on Christe's passioun,  
I crowche thee *from elves and from wightes*.  
Therewith the night-spell seyde he anon rightes  
On the four halves of the house aboute,  
And on the threshold of the dore withoute,  
' Lord Jhesu Christ and Seynte Benedight  
Blesse this house from *every wikkede wight*,'” etc.

A favourite kind of mischief with these elves was the tying the hair of sluttish maids, like the manes of ill-kept horses, into elf locks, which degenerated into malevolence when it produced that loathsome disease, the *plica polonica*.\* So in

*mare*, brought this name into the Edda, by a curious substitution of word and idea, I shall not at present determine.

\* The German name for this disease, “*weichsel zopf*,” may be perhaps adduced as a proof that those afflicted with

Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, act i. s. 4, Mercutio says :—

“ This is that very Mab  
That plats the manes of horses in the night,  
And bakes *the elf locks* in foul sluttish hairs  
Which, once entangled, much misfortune bode.”

And in *King Lear*, Edgar says : “ *Elf* all my hair in knots.” The interlacings found on obelisks and monuments, in many northern parts of Britain and the continent, are but their sculptured and tangible representations; they are frequently found

it were not looked upon with any great degree of aversion or horror, according to the merciful creed of our pagan ancestors, which esteemed most mental or physical defects but chastenings of a benevolent deity, to be received with affectionate submission: thus goitres in a child caused it to be more tenderly cared for, more kindly nurtured, and an idiot was only known as an innocent. *Weichsel*, as the indigenous name of the Vistula, though it may have suggested the Latin denomination, *plicus polonica*, and the belief that the disorder is more particularly banned to the shores of that river, whereas it only appears there more frequently from the unsurpassed filthy habits and customs of the inhabitants, is yet merely a corruption of the Polish word *wisla* for white; the river itself being esteemed in the ancient traditions like Ganges or Godanery, *white* or sacred; in another dialect *bielor* or *bil*. This would strengthen or explain the meaning of Shakespeare, why intangling these locks would “ much misfortune bode,” as if flying in the face of omnipotence. We have, however, in German, amongst its synonyms, besides *alp zopf*, also *höllenzopf* (hell tail), *truten zopf* (Druid tail) —Nork's *Kloster*, vol. ix. p. 489; but these names may have been obtained much later, and on the introduction of Christianity. Grimm adduces a story of a girl who had not untangled or combed her locks for twelve months, when Frau Holle came and combed them for her, and drew out of them pearls and precious stones as a reward.

conjoined with Runic inscriptions, whence they are called Runic knots, and hence the prestige of *secresy*; or within the folds of a serpent's tail, whence, as in Mercurio's allusion above, the *danger* of unfolding it; a similar fatality hung over unfolding the sphynx's riddle in antiquity, and death was the fatal consequence either to the propounder, if found out, or to the expounder, if unsuccessful. Fine examples of the elf-locks are given, with woodcuts, for Scandinavia, in Thomsen's *Leitfaden zur nordischen Alterthumskunde*, p. 63; and for Scotland, in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, pp. 540 and 542. *The Builder*, July 25th, 1846, contains an engraving of a curious font, rescued from premature destruction, with such ornaments; and three obelisks are in the churchyard of Bakewell in Derbyshire, covered with them. Our *locks* have their names from nothing but their intricacy, and the difficulty there is, or ought to be, in opening them, unless with a proper key; and two carriages *wheel-locked* are frequently not separated without much damage, or at least danger, to both. That the Scottish *war-locks*, though now transferred from a thing to a person, and become a witch or wizzard, were originally the same, appears plain from their Wendic name of *Ber* or *Bärlocks*: the tangled locks of the bear afterwards changed into amulets, of which we have in Ledebur's *Museum vaterländischer Alterthümer* (Berlin, 1838, p. 81) the following description:—

“ Verschiedene Berlocks aus Silberblech meist einen Halbbogen bildend in dessen mitte auch pferdeköpfchen,

an dessen Peripherie Kettchen herabhängen an deren Enden wieder kleine platten befestigt sind die bald Dreiecke bald ovale bilden, zum Theil den Braktealen des Mittelalters ähnelnd auf die mannigfaltigste weise veziert sind.\*

The DWARFS (Grimm's *Zwerge*, p. 414) are our next division. That writer finds as a derivation of their name nothing nearer than the Gothic *doergr*, and the doubtful Anglo-Saxon *tverc*, etc. etc., but as this merely re-echoes the word, without aiding the mind in a comprehension of the meaning, it may be as well to endeavour, by considering the signification as well as the sign, to give a definitive idea concerning these mysterious beings to the understanding.

The great figure that the fibrous plants, particularly *hemp*, cut in all popular mythologies, is well known; if sown on Midsummer's night eve (Brand, *Pop. Antiq.* by Halliwell, vol. i. p. 332), it gives each longing virgin the envied pleasure of a sight of her future husband.

“Lo, shuddering at the solemn deed,  
She scatters round the magic seed,  
And thrice repeats: ‘The seed I sow  
My true love’s scythe the crop shall mow.’  
Straight, as her frame fresh horrors freeze,  
Her true love with his scythe she sees.”—*Cottage Girl*.

The same is allowable on All Hallow's eve, *Ibid.* pp. 382, 386, 396; and there is little doubt the superstition passed from the seed to the plant,

\* Various *berlocks* of very thin silver plates, to the middle of which a small horse's head is appended, and round whose circumference small chains dangle, on which again small plates are fastened, that form partly triangles, partly ovals, adorned like mediæval bracteates in the most varied manner.

particularly as the *heckling* it, and the *heckle*, an instrument by which it and flax are broken, cuts so great a figure in the superstitions of the north. It is necessary that this hempseed be *harrowed*, *Ibid.* p. 382, note.

“Steal out unperceived, and sow a handful of hempseed, *harrowing* with any thing you can conveniently draw after you. Repeat now and then: ‘Hempseed, I saw\* thee; hempseed, I saw thee; and him (or her) that is to be my true love come and pou thee.’”

The importance of the harrow for all charms, &c., must be deferred at present. Now the refuse of hemp and flax, the entangled fibres, in English called *tow*, is, in Germany, *werg*, or perhaps as otherwise, and more correctly, spelled *werch*; for Adelung derives the word from *werrich*, raffled. If we suppose a prefixed article, like the Low German and Dutch *het*, as a contraction *'twerg*, we have the word without going out of the language; and many considerations concerning the plant give us an insight into the nature of these supposed tiny beings. The plant, male and female, on separate upright stems, may be compared, in a field, to the thickly-planted bodies, such as their ideal assemblies are represented, and of the fancied dwarfish size as compared with man. The Latin name of *cannabis*, perhaps rectius *cannevas*, as the Italian name is *cannevacchio* (our English canvass was made from it) would connect it with the Eleusinian Mysteries, where

\* *Saw* here for *sow* is remarkable; and shows how much mere verbal approaches of sound were allowable to the vulgar mind.

the *cannephoroi*, as bearer of baskets\* made from the bark of canes, or *cannabis*, were important personages in the processions, and lead us on to the *Mystica Vannus Iacchi*. But the northern names are fully as rife with mysteries. Our *tow* is the Dutch *touw*, or *tov*; and *taveraar* is a conjurer; *toverkonst*, sorcery; the German *zauberer*, and *zauberkunst*. From *hemp*, the Germans have a spirit which they call *Hempelmann*. Grimm's *D. M.*, p. 470, says: "lachen wie ein *Hempelmann*." Farther, the name of the feminine hemp in German, is *fünmel* or *femmel*, which may be derived from its gender as female, but more likely from the *fe* or *feen* noticed before, because the German word would, if distinction of sex were intended, have been taken from *weib* (wife). The provincial English name for the male stem is Carle-Hemp.

And that our own ancestry were imbued to the full with the magical properties connected with this useful vegetable, we may learn from its frequent recurrence in their fairy verses and incantations, either as the subjective idea of heckling, or as the thing heckled; of which we shall immediately perceive the value, for it could not be banished from their fears, as a means of avoidance, or from their wishes, as a mode of attainment: thus, in the *Shepherd's Dream* (Halliwell's *Introd.* p. 173), a kobold is introduced, saying:—

"How clatter'd I amongst their pots  
And pans, as dreamed they,  
My *hempen hampen* sentence where  
Some tender foole would lay."

\* In Austria the name of the hemp plant is *Büstling*.



And in *Robin Goodfellow's Life*:—

“ Because thou lay'st me *Hempen Hampen*,  
I will neither bolt nor stampen ;”

with the note: “ These words, or two very similar lines, are given in Reginald Scott's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, as what Robin Goodfellow said if any one gave him clothes instead of milk and cream. Reginald Scott says he would, in that case, “ chafe exceedingly.” Also, from the same large storehouse of fairy lore, p. 139 :—

“ And whilst that they did nimbly spin  
The *Hempe* he needs must tow,  
He grown'd, he thumpt, he grew  
So cunning in his arte ;  
He learnt the trade of beating hempe  
By bussing his sweet-heart.”

In *Pranks of Puck* (*ibid.* p. 167) :—

“ Yet now and then the maids to please,  
I *card* at midnight up their wool ;  
And whilst they sleep and take their ease,  
With wheel to thread their flax I pull ;  
I grind at mill  
Their malt up still,  
*I dress their hemp, I spin their tow* :  
If any wake,  
And would me take,  
I wend me laughing ho ! ho ! ho !”

Though this peculiarity of laughing be frequently repeated, as a distinguishing mark of Puck (Halliwell, pp. 145, 147, 148), yet I cannot agree with Grimm (*D. M.*, p. 469), as if it were the principal agreement with our English Puck and his German Hempelman. Hemp, the vegetable, as one of the most valuable productions

from the earth to a rude people, is much more likely to have pervaded their thoughts, and been a mutual bond of ideal and devotional imagery, amongst all their cognate tribes.

Nor are Puck, or Robin Goodfellow's, noises always of a joyous or laughable nature: they are frequently foreboding of sorrow, sickness, and death, which is never the case with the cacchinary words of Hempelman. Halliwell, at p. 153, says, "he cries at sick men's windows, which makes the hearers so fearful that they say the sick man cannot live;" or even otherwise (*Ibid.* p. 147), "sometimes he would goe, like a bellman, in the night, and with *many pretty verses* delight the eares of those that waked at his bellringing." Having lost these watchmen since the introduction of our present excellent police, the race and knowledge of our ancient Dogberries will have passed away with the present generation; and to form a perfect idea of what is meant by *many pretty verses*, our children must travel to Copenhagen, where each hour has its particular rhyme. A slight idea of what these former guardians of the night were wont to perform, as disturbers of our sleep, may be entertained by consulting *The Bellman and his History*, in *Notes and Queries*, April 26th, 1851, with additional remarks, particularly on the Cambridge Bellman (*Ibid.*, May 10th, 1851). Also in the same work, June 7th, 1851, *The Old London Bellman, and his Songs and Cries*.

To complete, however, the connexion of this plant with the mythology of the north, from the

subjective idea of this heckling, by which any thing is heckled, or in the process of its manufacture in reducing *hanf* to *twerg*, in *heckling it*; whence the famous spirit, *Häckelberend*. Grimm (*D. M.*, p. 873) and Nork (*Kloster*, vol. ix. p. 38) are very diffuse on this curious name, and both relate *sagen*, which connect him indisputably with “*der wilde jäger*.” We find, in the former, the following varieties of the name, *Hackelbärend*, *Hackelbernd*, *Hackelberg*, *Hackelblock*.\* I agree with him at p. 875, where he says: “Ich bin geneigt die westphälische form Hackelberend für die älteste echtste zu erklären,” but not for the reason he deduces, from old German words signifying mantle, cape, or armour, and therefore an armed knight; because such recondite, far-fetched meanings are always repugnant to the vulgar minds in which these thoughts and words were first concocted, and because the meaning of *hecklebearing*, or *hecklebearer*, is not only more simple, but answers to the general ideas which appear in the northern mythologies, and which will become more apparent when we come to consider the man in the moon as a collector and bearer of sticks.

\* Nork, *Kloster*, vol. ix. p. 370, produces a proverb: *In Eichel fängt das Schaf den Wolf*, which he refers to a church, “*Maria zur Eiche*,” but *Eiche* is so ready a corruption of *Esge*, that I should be inclined to deduce the saying from the common and constant superstition of the harrow. I shall for the present avoid going into the conformities which the English *Egg* and its cognates would give in various long usages: unde derivatur, *to egg him on?*

This idea seems particularly strengthened when we consider the derivation of the German Häckel, the English heckle, which Adelung s.v. EGGE justly derives, because of its sharp teeth, from *Ecke*, properly an angle, a corner; but thence also *Edge*: and it is curious, this German word, aspirated as *hecke*, answers exactly to its English synonym, with a similar addition—Hedge; thence the English haggler agrees with the German häcklicher (at present more usually spelled ekeliger), which the lexicographer describes as a person who has some things to condemn in all things—“ein Mensch der in allen Dingen etwas zu tadeln hat.”

So Jamieson, *Scottish Dictionary*, gives for the second, or metaphorical meaning of *Heckle*, “to tease with questions.” Adelung’s root of *ege* brings us, however, round again to the *egge*, or ploughman’s harrow, with which we started, as so necessary for the perfecting the charm of hemp-seed; and one or two tales will best give the significance of this agricultural instrument for purposes of magic, or its counter-charm. Thus, in Grimm’s *Deutsche Mythologie*, 961, the power of seeing spirits pass on Shrove Tuesday is given by *an harrow*.

“Wer sich zur Nachtzeit im Walde unter eine *EGGE* setzt der kan alles mit ansehen, alle Thiere die durch das Holz ziehen, der König auf dem Wagen welchem Füchse vorangehen und alles was in dieser Nacht vorgeht. Das wusste ein Schäfer und wolttet (*sic*) versuchen, er gieng in den Wald unter die *EGGE* sitzen und schaute durch die Löcher; als nun der Spuk vorüber war wolttte er unter der *EGGE* wieder hervor kriechen, allein er sass fest und der Teufel stand neben ihm und wiess ihm die Zähne.” “He sat thus

till the morning, when, as people that passed the wood were not able to release him, he delivered to the devil the black sheep with a single white hair as demanded, and was let loose."\*

In Greek mythology this serrated or angular power is transferred to the ΧΗΛΗ forfex, specillum bifurcum, but also promontorium, for a reason afterwards apparent. We have, in Saxo Grammaticus, a curious instance of the use of the human *fork*, the distention of the two legs from the trunk, for a similar purpose, S. 37, which Grimm also adduces, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 891.

“An jenem Schauen durch den Arm erkennt man recht die uralte Sage. Saxo Grammaticus meldet s. 37 dass Bearco nicht vermochte den Othin der auf weissem Rosse reitend mit weissem Schilde bedeckt dem feindlichen Heer der Schweden beistand, zu erschauen: da redet Bearco zu Ruta :—

‘At nunc ille ubi sit qui vulgo dicitur Othin

\* Sometimes the Egge, though but nominal, instead of its subjective power of withstanding the evil one, acts objectively in reducing him to subjection; thus in Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 214, *der wärwolf stein*. An unknown old man resided for a long time in the neighbourhood of the Hackelberg, and worked for the neighbouring farmers, but being denied a speckled lamb by one of them, for revenge he turned himself into a wärwolf, or gar-lou, but, being pursued to the town of *Eggenstedt*, he there loses his power and begs for mercy. In the preceding story, a wärwolf says to a man who had discovered him—“had you done that before you had left the bush I would have eaten you.” Bush here evidently standing for hedge or hecke. And in the same book a witch flies to a bush to regain her human form, ringing the changes on subjective and objective operation.

Armipotens, uno semper contentus ocello ?  
 Dic mihi, Ruta precor, usquam si conspicias illum ?

“ Ruta antwortet—

Adde oculum proprius *et nostras prospice chelas*  
 Ante sacraturas victrici lumina signo  
 Si vis præsentem tuto cognoscere martem.

“ Bearco.—Sic potero horrendum Frigæ spectare maritum  
 Quantum cuique albo clypeo sit tectus et album  
 Flectat equum, Lethra numquam sospes abibit,” &c. &c.

Grimm would seem, from the passage preceding this, to look upon this chele of Saxo's as an angle formed by the bend of the arm, propped against the body ; to this he may have been led by the single instance of a tale of a man “ who went once over the Odin hill, and all at once heard the noise of a drum, without being able to see anything, when a wise man advised him to look through *the ring* that he should make *with his arm stuck against his body* ; he immediately saw a number of people in arms go in and out of the Odin's hill.” But, in opposition, it may be urged that the position thought most powerful to avert the wärwolf is to look at *him with the head placed beneath the fork*, and, therefore, even any *forked* branch has power to drive away each evil spirit. One showed itself in Woltersdorf, near the Kranich mountain, in shape of a sow, that forces every one she meets to ride some distance upon her back. A man going once late through the place saw this sow making violently towards him, but he carried (einen kreuzdorn Stock und wer den hat dem konnten die bösen Geister nichts anhaben) a *forked* thorn branch, and

the evil spirits have no power over any one bearing this. This peculiar position of the head occurs in our country on sculptured monuments, which have never yet been explained. I saw on an out-house, or barn, immediately approaching the entrance-gate of the ancient residence of the Vernons, at Haddon House, near Bakewell, a figure represented bending the head between its knees, as far as I can recollect at a distance of twenty years, very distinctly and neatly carved in relief. On the wall of Chalk Church, in Kent, is another similar, only the head is brought conveniently betwixt the feet, as the figure is seated, of which a plate and the following description is given in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, iii. p. 134:—

“CHALK CHURCH.—This ludicrous figure, which seems to represent a deformed fool or buffoon, is placed over the south door of the parish church of Chalk, in Kent. He holds in both his hands a mighty pitcher, the contents of which, from the maudling grin on his countenance, he seems to have freely tasted. His looks are directed upwards, either to the figure of the Virgin Mary or tutelary saint of the church, which probably once stood in the niche over his head, or to a grotesque figure in the frieze over that niche, *who, tumbler-like, looks through his legs, which are raised above his head.* What could be meant by such strange sculptures is difficult to conceive, particularly in such places, for they frequently occur over arches on capitals or friezes of churches and chapels, and are constantly to be met with under the seats of the monks in the choirs of conventual churches, where they often infringe on decency. There is no tradition respecting it. The church of Chalk has many vestiges of antiquity.”

The caduceus of Mercury, with the head betwixt two serpents, which are all legs, will be

best explained by referring it as a more artistic and classic form of giving this ancient superstition, by which Mercury could make departed spirits visible; but this will be subsequently adverted to.

It is very evident that we have here the origin or cause of the famous triquetra, the three legs joined, which, as a double chele, would have a double or continuous magical power. Sometimes this connexion is made from three wheat ears, as on the coins of Metapontum, &c.; but, as before remarked, wheat, whit, white, or biel, was but one of the names of the universal deity, and was therefore only the more sacred symbol. Sandford's *Genealogical History*, by Stebbing, fol. 1707, gives it on Seal 102, with the variation of three lions' bodies united to one head, as belonging to Edmund Crouchback, with the legend, *Sigillum S. Edmundi filii Regis Angliæ*. Undoubtedly, however, its more general appearance is that of a junction of three human legs; and from the frequency with which islands jut out into promontories may be derived the secondary meaning of  $\chi\eta\lambda\eta$  as a promontory (*ut supra*, p. 74), and its appropriation as the arms of islands generally. The legs of Man are too well known to require more than to be mentioned. Less known are they as the arms of Malta joined to a centre head (*De Boisgellin Ancient and Modern Malta*, 4to, Lond., vol. ii. p. 18); or of Sicily, whence its second name as Trinacria, and thence quartered in the royal Neapolitan escutcheon. In *Rudbeck's Atlanticum*, vol. ii. p. 172, is also a curious



woodcut of the three legs, which he refers to a Swedish island. This seems also to be inducement for sorcerers and witches to frequent *cross roads*,\* as scenes of incantations and magic; and even the cross itself, which, in the Maltese equilateral form at least, was used long prior to the introduction of Christianity, may have been an emblem of ancient supernatural power, which was ~~not so~~ greedily seized on by the earliest Christians, and transferred to a more sublime and protective type, and which we still receive, particularly if Catholics, as the great safeguard against all the machinations of evil. I shall leave the cross-legged statues of the Mithra divinities, as well as those commonly attributed to the Templars of our churches, to another opportunity, merely remarking, that in ancient German Jurisprudence it was imperative on a king or judge to sit cross-legged all the time he was hearing a cause; and Grimm (*Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 763), adduces a passage (from the Soest laws), where a judge is told he must change his legs one hundred and twenty-three times ( $3 \times 40 + 3$ ) before he gives up the cause as undecidable. A writer in an early number of the *Foreign Quarterly Review* has evidently mistaken this passage, when he supposes the judge is told he must *consider* the matter this number of times. The German word here used, *überlegen*, has undoubtedly this

\* On roads, as through life, the maxim, "in medio tutissimus ibis," seems to have held good. So Grimm's *D. M.*, p. 876, the wilde jäger calls out to a peasant mocking him, *midden in weg*, as his means of security.

metaphorical meaning at present and perhaps from this very practice; but its literal and original sense of *overlaying* was not only received by Grimm as the true one, from his calling it *Beinverchraubung*, but is proved by the words of another old precept in Carinthia: the judge *soll ain pain auf daz ander legen*. Exeter Cathedral offers, in its west front, fine and numerous examples of our kings and princes cross-legged. The remarks of Rich, in his *Dictionary of Antiquities*, on the word  $\chi\eta\lambda\eta$ , are so apposite, that I have pleasure in adducing them:—

“Chele, properly a Greek word, which signifies a cloven foot; a pair of crooked and serrated claws, like those of a crab; the talons of a bird, or the claws of a wild beast, whence in that language it is used to designate several different instruments, possessing, in their forms or manner of usage, a resemblance to any one of these natural objects—as a knitting needle, a breakwater to protect the mouth of a harbour, when made in the form of a claw set open, a pair of pincers with bent arms like claws.”

Just as the Germans use *Scheere* for a lobster's claws; a pair of scissors; the shears to draw up and let fall the ram of a piling engine; and, that no meaning of the Greek word may escape, the long row of rocky islands forming natural breakwaters along the Southern and Eastern coasts of Sweden in the Baltic, are called “*die Scheeren*.” We have at the mouth of the Thames the *Shears*, at present only a forked beacon, but it may occupy the place of former rocks, of which only the dangerous base remains under water.\* It will be

\* That the shears, in their common form, were not un-

seen, however, that in all these objects the angle or fork is the radical idea, and may have been the principal reason why the cloven foot forms the great and unalienable feature of the evil one. The Swallow was called Cheledon, from its forked tail; thence a degree of sanctity got affixed to the bird, which is still in force at the present day, and in our own country, as the following very common proverbial rhyme shews:—

“ The Martin and the Swallow  
Are God Almighty’s birds to hallow.”

Before we finish entirely with these Dwarfs, it may be as well to adduce, as an additional proof of their subterranean and malignant origin, that the names of most of them are derived from metals, and especially from those of rare occurrence, or difficult extraction. Grimm (*D. M.*, p. 414) has no explanation of the name that is satisfactory; he has found an assonance in the Goth. *Doerger*, which only removes the difficulty a little higher up. The Anglo-Saxon *tverc* he considers doubtful; but surely the consideration of the meaning, rather than the letters, would have given him, as above, a probable solution.

known as a popular charm, we learn from Herrick, in his *Hesperides*, p. 334, a charm for stables—

“ Hang up hooks and shears to scare  
Hence the hag that rides the mare,  
Till they be all over wet  
With the mire and the sweat;  
This observed, the manes shall be  
Of your horses all knot free.”

GOBLIN—French, Gobelin; Latin, Gobelinus.\* (Ordericus Vitalis, b. 5, Demonem enim quem de Dianæ fano expulit, adhuc in eadem urbe degit et in variis formis apparens neminem ledit. Hunc vulgus et Gobelinum appellat)—is in German *Kobold*: “*er lacht wie ein Kobold*” is amongst them common proverb to express a hearty cachinnation, and points, evidently, to the valuable ore called kobalt, whence all mineral blues are extracted, for painting in porcelain or enamel. From these laughing propensities of the Kobold, Grimm draws his principal proof of identity with our Puck; but he might have found the identical word, for the genus at least, if he had looked somewhat farther. We have, in *Heywood’s Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*, (fol. Lond. 1635, p. 514):—

“ In John Milesius any man may read  
Of devils in Sarmatia honored,  
Called Kattri, or Kibaldi, such as we  
*Pugs or Hobgoblins call.*”

The Wends seem to have had a special hobgoblin under this particular title. Speicher (*Kirchen Geschichte der Marken*, p. 458) says, “Aus den Hausgöttern der Wenden *Kolki* & *Kobal* sind die *Kobolde* entstanden;” though I think he here mistakes cause and consequence.†

\* The Latin *Cobali*, known as hurtful spirits by us, were a guild of Priests of Bacchus; but they had their names from the sound of metals:—“Dicebantur *Cobali*, dæmones immites et inhumani quidam et Satyri et Bachæ et Sileni ipsum comitari cum cymbalis et strepitu quocunque incederet.”—*Natalis Comitum Mytholog.*, lib. v. p. 261.

† So much was the idea of grimy, black, like miners, as-

*Nixen*, or *Nichsen*, have their only satisfactory meaning in the metal *nickel*, now so well known in England. All the similar names by which they are known in every country, as *Nisse*, *Nissar*, in heathen Denmark and Sweden, mean any noisy or troublesome spirit; so, in the latter language, *Nocka*, or *Nika*, was the northern Neptune. It does surprise me, therefore, that Sir Henry Ellis (in Brand's *Popular Antiq.* by Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 520) sanctions the name of Satan, or Old Nick, as derived from the northern Nix; for more apparently is the famous patron of sailors and fishermen, St. Nicholas, to be referred to the same vocal origin, as the metal is not unfrequently called *Nichol*.\* The three children for

sociated with the idea of dwarf, that it is hardly doubtful but the modern High German, *Schwarz* (black) is thence derived.—*Nibelung's Lied*, v. 397.

Do-ne chund-im nicht gestriten, daz stanche *ge-tvverch*

Al-sam die levven vvilde, si liefen an den berch

Da er die taren-chappen sit Alberiche au-gevaan.

Closely allied to the Dutch, *Zwaar* und *Zwarte*, and the *Tarn-kappe*, by giving invisibility, rendering subjectively dark; from the latter we have the word *tarnish*, to begin to grow dim or black. \* Johnson curiously defines *Tarn* as a Bog, a Fen, a Marsh; to which we shall return.

\* Even the *verbal* conformity of *Nichel* with *Puch* is furnished by Adelung, s. v. *Speise*, p. 559. In Behm. ist *Pice* ohne *Zischlaut Futter*, and s. v. *Speise*, 558—"Nicht selten führet diesen Nahmen auch eine metallische Vermischung aus Kobalt, Nickel, & Wismuth." Adelung was rather doubtful as to the derivation, for he adds: "Es scheint hieraus zu erhellen dass der Bergmann jede metallische Vermischung deren Bestandtheile ihm unbekannt sind, *Speise* zu nennen pflegt." Here we find *Pice*, and I shall hereafter show the identity of *Pice*, or *Petze*, and *Petz*, with

which the Roman Catholic church has found a comfortable and corresponding legend, I look upon originally as mere personifications of those dwarfs, of whom the metal was the gift and the name the sponsor. Our "Old Harry" would be easily comprehended (for at present it seems to have no connexion with any Satanic agency or relation), if, in conformity with what has been written a few pages back, we were to say *Old Harrow*. Other metals also lend their denominations to the demons who are supposed to attend and guard them. Nork (Kloster, vol. xi. p. 357, note), where we find "*Gold-emar zu den unterirridischen Zwergen gezählt,*" and an Indian demon, *Kuversas*, most probably from a word cognate with the Latin *cuprum*, Fr. *cuivre*—copper; and why not from the Greek, *κοπρος*, *Stercus*; which can only have this name from the dung-like form in which nodules of native copper are frequently found.

The Swedish *Trolls* (from them the *Troll-höte*, or fairy canal) have left only mirthful reminiscences in our language in the word *droll*, and to *troll*, or *trundle*, either from their frequent merry antics and clever somersets, or from their fat rotundity: the fishing cant word, *trowling*, or

Puch. Wismuth (Bismuth) may perhaps be added to the list of metallic denominations of rare minerals derived from spirits—as the white-mind, or ghost; if not, perhaps, *Wissmutter*, the white mother, for white-mähre, or mähre, the white-mare. Another spirit that haunted the mine of the *Coronea Rosacea*, the richest in Saxony; for want of a peculiar metallic name, went by the name of the district of *Annaberg*, as *Annabergius* (*Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 346.)

*trolling*, is restricted to turning the line round a wheel. The frequent burthen of a "right merrie melodie," of "troll de loll loll, loll de loll," &c., would strengthen an opinion that the other equally used refrain, "*Derry down*," &c., was the remnant of a song in honour or sung by the Druids, as this may have been in honour of the Trolls, with Tralleral, Tralleral, &c.—"Er trollte sich mit vielem Pochen" would be applicable, even in name, with our Puck.

## CHAPTER III.

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“ All is bot gaistes and elriche fantasyis ;  
Of Brownys and of *Bogills* full.”

DOUGLAS'S *Virgil*, viii.

“ Ghaist nor *bogle* shalt thou fear ;  
Thou'rt to love and heav'n so dear,  
Nocht of ill may come thee near,

My bonnie dearie.”

BURNS.

It may, perhaps, at present be useless to inquire how the monosyllable *Bog*\* came to express, over an immense tract of the old globe, a supreme omnipresent and omniscient Deity. On the analogy of our English *Big*, it might first have been used as an expression of extension or greatness, undefined, because undefinable. All our English etymologists are strangely puzzled with this said little word *big*, beginning with

\* In Ertsh and Gruber's Lexicon we have, s. v. *Bog*, *Boh*, and *Buh*, as synonyms; so that *Bogle*=*Boh* is a mere pleonasm, or intensitive, by repetition: on *Boh*, vide Jamieson's *Scott. Dict. s. v.* *Bogill*, 60, as the name of one of the most formidable Gothic generals, after Wharton, &c. &c. Compare Grimm's *D. M.*, 1213, for the derivation of *Bogaty*.



Junius, who filches it from the Greek *βayaos*, through Skinner, from *bug*, which he says means, in Danish, belly; and Minshew, who calls it a contracted form of Dutch *buychigh* (German *bäuchisch* is better), great-bellied; so numerous others, equally unsatisfactory. The probability is, that all these are rather derivatives from, than roots of, a word, which in a primitive language signified rule and authority, from which implied greatness or bigness was a consequence; though the metaphorical meaning was afterwards almost exclusively transferred to corporeal greatness. There is, however, a word in the Danish language which seems to have retained this meaning in full integrity; this is *Byggen*, to build,\* to render firm, to establish, and by a kindly supposition that all rule is to establish order and well-being; also *to govern*; or the converse may be correct; and from the idea of governing, that of building or founding, takes its rise. In this sense it is found as the first words of an old code of Danish laws:—

“MED LOW SKAL MEN LAND BYGGEN:”

“The country shall be supported by laws;” which words, in huge capitals of gilt brass, form a suitable ornament to the town, and an excellent charter to the people, being fixed on the frieze which runs along the front of the new Rath-haus at Copenhagen.

But, whatever the derivation and original meaning of Bog, we cannot hesitate to admit that it has given appellative and proper names to

\* Whence our provincial Bigging, for Barn.

many extended districts of the ancient world, some of which have either remained unchanged to the present hour, or left sufficient echo in their sound to be easily recognised even now. *Bucharia* is readily resolved in *Bogaria*, and has within it the more modern province of *Bok-hara*, with a holy city of the same name. *Bactria* has for its capital *Balk*, which latter name we shall subsequently connect more intimately with this divinity, *Bug*, when we come to the subject of direct caprine worship. It will prepare the readers for this connexion, and its sanctity as a holy city, if we here adduce what *Creuzer* says concerning it (*Symbolik*, i. p. 300). "As oldest centre of the (Persian) kingdom, we find *Bactria* (*Boctria* *Bochara*), or that province which, since *Darius Hystaspes*, is the 12th Satrapy in the Persian geography. In this land, all the rays of ancient *Iran's* glory concentrate themselves; and which are to be found, in the sacred as well as in the civil relations of the biblical muniments, the *Zend-writings*, and from those of *Greece* and *Rome* to the *Schahnameh* of *Ferdusi*, or the history of *Moses of Chosrene*, in which they are resuscitated in marvellous colours." (*Joseph v. Hammer*, now *Baron v. Purgstall*, in *Jahrbüchern der Litteratur*, ix. 30). Besides, the Grecian myths, which sought to attribute to their semi-god *Bacchus*, by reason of the conquest of *Bactria*, an unequalled fame, he asserts the historians of those countries attributed to that kingdom a peculiar signification (see *Heeren* below); and truly this district was the seat of a civilization stretching to

the bounds of time, the centre of a large commercial tract for the East: and gold and silver, most probably from trade with Turkestan, was there in large circulation. Even now, *Balk* (Boktra) is called the *Mother (or Parent) of Towns*, and considered the most ancient city in the world (See Heeren *On the Religion of the Old World*, and Ritter's *Geography*, ii. 502). But, though inexorable Fate has made havoc with the last remains of this yore town of Iran, still the site will always retain its hold on the pious memories of nations; for hitherto no modern investigator has ever succeeded in discovering an older abode of human culture; for the remarkable concurrences of the oldest records press upon us a conviction, that all civilization proceeded from the Bactrio-Median, or Aramic empire.\*

\* The importance of this fact to the future consideration of our inquiry, induces us to give the entire passage from the original:—

“Als ältester Mittelpunkt des (Persischen) Reichs tritt Boktrien (Boktra, Bokara), oder diejenige Provinz hervor die in der Persischen Geographie, seit Darius Hystaspes, die zwölfte unter den Satrapien bildete. In diesem Lande concentriren sich die Strahlen der alten Iranischen Herrlichkeit die in den heiligen wie in den weltlichen Sagen der biblischen Urkunden, der Zendschrift, der Griechen und Römer bis auf den Schanameh des Ferdusi, und die Geschichte des Moses von Chorene im wunderbaren Farbenglanze wieder erscheinen (Siehe v. Hammer's *Jahrbücher der Lit.* ix, heft 30 ff.) Abgesehen von dem Mythos der Griechen welcher seinen Halbgott Dionysius aus der Ueberwindung der Bactrier einen unvergleichlichen Ruhm zu bereiten sucht, finden wir in den Geschichtschreibern selbst diesem Lande eine hohe Bedeutung beigelegt; vergleiche Heeren über die Rel.

So far Creuzer and Heeren. We reserve to ourselves for future remark the curious agreement of the modern, probably also of the ancient, name of the capital, *Balk*, with its verbal and real signification, connected with the caprine worship, or what may be truly called the religion of the Bock, or Goat, and which will establish beyond doubt its dissemination over this entire kingdom, as well as for the whole of northern Europe. Another name will bring a corresponding proof of the intimate connexion between the far East and our native shores, in the proved correspondence and presumed identity between Budha and Odin, as the two superior divinities; and in the ease with which these two names glide into verbal agreement, in the following insensible grada-

der alten Welt, i. 381.—Und in der That war dieses Land der Sitz einer uralten Cultur, der Mittelpunkt einer grossen Handelstrasse des Orients, und gold und silber war durch Handel, wahrscheinlich aus Turkestan, im Umlaufe—Noch jetzt wird Balk (Boktra), die Mutter der Städte genannt und für die älteste der Welt gehalten (Heeren, *ut supra*, and *Ritter's Geographie*, ii. 502). So unerbittlich hier das Schicksal über die letzten Reste der altheiligen Hauptstadt von Iran gewüthet wird aber ihre Stätte im Andenken der Völker immer ehrwürdig bleiben, in dem es bis jetzt wenigstens dem Forschergeist der neueren noch nicht gelungen einen älteren Wohnsitz menschlicher Sittigung nachzuweisen—denn die wunderbare Uebereinstimmung der ältesten Urkunden drängt uns die historische Ueberzeugung auf, dass alle Cultur vom Baktrisch—Medischen oder Aramischen Reiche ausgegangen—Ausser den Münzen scheint sich wenig oder nichts von Boktra erhalten zu haben, was nur in die Zeiten Alexander's und einer Nachfolger, viel weniger in die Zeiten der alt-Persischen Monarchie, zurückgieng."

tions:—Odin, Oden, Woden, Wood, Vood, Bood, Bhud, Buddha; \* the traces of the oldest name, Bog, are also still very prominent in the oldest Eastern traditions, and traceable in their legends and localities to the present day. In the following extract from Colonel Percival's *Description of Ceylon*, p. 208, the stronghold of modern Buddhism from its first origin, the miracles of Loretto, and the bogles or gude people of Scotland and Ireland, meet in one of the most exclusive fastnesses of her superstition.

“It is to Adam's Peak that the Ceylonese repair to worship at the great festival of Buddow. The Cingalese of the coast, in particular, repair to it in great numbers. A large proportion of the Candians likewise attend, but whether from a fear of mixing with foreigners, or from ideas of the superior sanctity of the place, they seem more inclined to hold their great festival under the shade of the *Bogaha* tree, which stands at Annaradg-burro, an ancient city in the northern part of the King of Candy's dominions; and none but his own subjects are permitted to approach the sanctuary. *The Bogaha Tree*, says tradition, *suddenly flew over from some distant country, and planted itself on the spot where it now stands.* It was intended for a shelter for the god Buddow, and under its branches he was wont to repose while he sojourned

\* The connexion between the Buddhist religion and the Wendic superstitions is not a new idea, it was early acknowledged. *Frenzel de Diis Soraborum*, sect. ii. cap. xxv. 105, in a chapter de Pusceto, quotes for it *Knox's History of Ceylon*, lib. iii. cap. iii. and mentions this tree.

on earth; near this hallowed spot ninety kings are interred, who all merited transplantation to the regions of bliss, by the temples and images they constructed for Buddow. They are now sent as good spirits to preside over the safety of his followers, and to protect them against being brought into subjection to Europeans—a calamity against which they continually pray. Around the tree are a number of huts, erected for the use of the devotees who repair hither; and, as every sort of business, of uncleanness and dust, must be removed from the sacred spot, people are retained for the purpose of continually sweeping the approaches before the worshippers, and to attend the priests during the performance of the ceremonies.”

The *Bogdo Lama*, in Thibet, the personification, or eternal incarnation of the supreme deity, or Fo, is met in Ireland by a shadowy being of great, because undefined, power, called the *Big Bohune*, as well as by a Silesian deity, or ghost, the *Bochusa*, of which a statue was dug up near Liegnitz. In Prussia and Lithuania, we have a peace festival, named the *Bockweihe* (vide *Vollmer's Mythol. Lex.* s. v.), which may be all mentioned, but which we reserve for more particular description when we come nearer home. But as Ireland has been mentioned, I may just remark, that I can explain one verse of the popular Irish song, “St. Patrick's day in the morning,” where it is said of the national saint (I take the words from Hone's *Every-Day Book*, vol. i. p. 370)—

“He’s a desperate *Big*, little Erin-go-brah,”

in no other way than by supposing the transfer of name and veneration which the old Irish bore to the universal Pagan deity,\* on their conversion to Christianity to the sanctified mortal who succeeded to his honours.† It seems, however, from the following extract from Salverte’s *Essai sur les Noms, &c.* v. viii. p. 37, note, that even the Thibetians call their deity *Bogle* :—“Le traducteur de la relation de Bogle sur le Thibet (imprimée a la suite du *Roman de Bryltophend in 8vo, Paris, 1789*), d’après l’auteur P. Gaubel.” And he goes on to state, that the pontiffs of Budha and this religion can be traced uninterruptedly, from authentic and official documents, from 1,343 years before the Christian era.

The following extract is from the English translation of Calmet, *Fragments, DXLV* :—

“*Mabog*, in Syria, probably Maha-Baga. In the ancient town of MABOG, now called Menbiez or Men-*big*, by the Greeks Hieropolis, a place of great antiquity, was a famous

\* My Milesian brethren must not be offended if I find the name even of Patricius, or Padricius, as a derivative from Padde, the German for Frog—the Paddock of Shakespeare, which Stevens has remarked with him invariably means the toad; and as this animal is supposed to be able to drive away all other venomous animals from its haunts, it is most probably thence that St. Patrick is supposed to have driven all venomous animals from Ireland. Padde is the same as Pogge or Poch, for the Frog; a locality in Hamburg is named Poggenmühle, or Frogmill.

† For Patricius as Padrig, *vide Archaeol. Cambrensis*, vol. i. p. 84.

temple, dedicated to the Syrian Goddess, whose statue of gold was placed in the centre, between those of Jupiter and Juno. *It had a golden Dove on its head*, hence some supposed it was designed for Semiramis, and *it was twice every year carried to the sea-side* in procession. This statue was evidently that of the great goddess, or Maha-bhaga-Devi, whose history is intimately connected with that of the dove in the modern mythologists, as well as in the Puranas. The Syrian name of Mabog is obviously derived from Maha-bhaga. This contraction is not uncommon in the western dialects, derived from Sanscrit; and Hesychius informs us that the Greeks pronounced the Hindu word Maha (great) Mai. Mabog is mentioned by Pliny, where we read Magog. This is confirmed by the modern name, Maubig or Maubeg. The temple of Mabug, according to Lucian, was frequented by all nations, even by Indians.\*

The Bal-bec of Cœlosyria has been noticed already, p. 48 *et seq.*

The name still continues in more modern times, and still eastward. We have a mountain chain in Thibet, called *Bogdo*, probably fifteen thousand feet high, and covered with eternal snow, which name is interpreted, like Olympus, into the abode of the gods. In the government of Saratow, in Asiatic Russia, there is a hill called *Bogda*, or *Bogd-voola*, four hundred and fifty feet high, situated, however, on such an extensive plain, that you have from it an uninterrupted view for thirty German miles (two degrees). The Calmucks have

\* I have marked in this extract two passages in italics, to which I shall again refer: to the first, when I come to treat of the Rhetra deities; to the second, in confirmation of a similar ablution for the deity Herthum, Nerthum, or Hertha, in a lake, situated in an unviolated grove (*castum nemus*) on an island in Northern Germany (*De mor. German. cap. xl.*)



an unbounded veneration for this hill; and no traveller of their creed passes by without first taking a stone and carrying it to the top, where he offers a prayer, and leaves, as a sign of his devotion, if rich, a piece of money, if poor, a part of his apparel, or even a common rag. (*Pallas's Travels—Georgi Geograp. phy. & natur. Hist. Beschreibung des Russischen Reiches.*)

The *Bug*, or *Bog*, and *Dneipr*, were two holy rivers of the Slavonians, in south Russia, (Mone's *Europäisches Heidenthum*, vol. v. p. 113), not less *Vistula* or *Weichsel*, or *Wisla*, and *Bug* flowing into it a little below Warsaw, were also rivers considered holy, and thence called after the name of the deity simply, or as good and white.

Proofs are also not wanting that statues existed to the divinity with this widely-extended name. *Vollmer's Mythologie*, s. v. *Bochusa*, gives the following description of a granite statue found in digging a well near *Liegnitz*, in *Silesia* :—

“*BOCHUSA*.—Ein schlesischer Götze nach einer Statue von grauem granit welche man unweit Liegnitz beim Ausgraben eines Brunnens gefunden haben soll; das Gesicht dieses Götzen hat einen Bockbart und Bockshörner, seine Rechte Hand trägt einen grossen Ring.”

From this description the resemblance to the universal God, *To Pan*, is undoubted; and the outstretched ring, to the practice of taking judicial oaths by a ring, of which a fine example, weighing five pounds, of purest gold, was found in Denmark, and is now preserved in the Royal Museum of Native Antiquities, in the *Christiansborg Schloss* at *Copenhagen*.

Before, however, we quit these Eastern testimonies to the widely-extended, perhaps universal, deity, Bog, we will attempt to prove that an undercurrent of this superstition pervaded the Hebrew mind, even under the most pious and renowned of her kings. In looking for such proofs from sacred writ, I do not deem myself, and I trust I shall not be deemed by others, irreligious or profane. If it was allowed, in the miracle of Joshua commanding the sun to stand still, to speak to the common apprehensions of the multitude, and in the Scape Goat of the wilderness to follow much of profane propitiation, we cannot think that it was unallowed or inconsistent with the Divine authority, to permit a credence in subordinate agency, which, whilst it satisfied the mind, did not directly controvert any of the Commandments. William of Malmsbury (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. ii. edit. Hardy, vol. i. p. 278) is already aware that Solomon used magical arts for discovering hidden treasure, in which he was followed by the high priest Hyrcan. William is endeavouring to excuse Gerbert (afterwards Pope Silvester) in using illicit means for discovering the treasures of Octavian.

“Talia, illum adversis prestigiis machinatum fuisse, constans vulgi opinio est. Veruntamen si quis verum diligenter exsculpat, videbit nec Salamonem cui Deus ipse dederit sapientiam, hujusce inscium commenti fuisse ut enim Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.*, lib. vii. c. 15 ; lib. viii. c. 2), auctor est thesauros multos cum patre defodit in loculis, qui erant (inquit) mechanico modo reconditi sub terra. Nec Hircanum, prophetia et fortitudine clarum qui ut obsidionis levaret injuriam, de David Sepulchro tria millia talenta auri arte

mechanica eruit ut obsessori partem enumeraret, parte xenodochia construeret. At vero Herodes, qui magis presumptione quam consilio idem aggredi voluerit multos ex satellitibus igne ex interiori parte prodeunte, amiserit."

This extract would supply sufficient evidence that what we call occult practices were not unknown to the Hebrews through a good part of their separate history; nor is it necessary to believe, with Malmsbury herein, a diabolical agency, which he cannot account for: "nec tamen affirmo quod dederat:" the infirmity of the human mind, the universal craving for power and riches, is the same in all ages, and under every dispensation, and would furnish sufficient excuse and ample cause for the practice.\*

The word Puch פּוּחַ occurs twice in the sacred volume. The first, 1 Chron. chap. xxix. ver. 2:—"Now I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God: the gold for *things to be made of gold*, and the silver for *things of silver*, and the brass for things of brass, the iron for things of iron, and wood for things of wood: onyx stones

\* We learn from Pettigrew's excellent *Treatise on Medical Superstitions*, that even yet "the Mischna permits the Jews to wear amulets, provided they have been found efficacious in at least three cases by an approved person;" and the following extract from *Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible*, art. *Hebrew Magic*, is too apposite to be omitted:—"We may trace the existence of the practice by the laws made to repress it, for all legislation is necessarily but a register of the sins of the people, although they had been forbidden recourse to it on pain of death.—Lev. xix. 31; Lev. xx. 6. Saul was required to do what he could to repress it, yet many remained, and the Israelites were always much addicted to these superstitions.—1 Saml. xxviii. 3 & 8."

and *stones to be set*, glistening stones, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious and marble stones in abundance." Luther's corresponding translation of the stones, which alone are the things in question, gives—"Onichsteine eingefasste Rubinen und bunte Steine und allerlei Edelgesteine und Marmelsteine die Menge;" so that both pretty nearly conform. The other passage is found in Isaiah, liv. ver. 11—"Oh thou afflicted, I will lay thy *stones with fair colours*, and lay thy foundations with sapphires." Here in the original we find the same word translated "*stones to be set*," and "*stones with fair colours*," and a common and congruent explanation has given great trouble both to English and foreign commentators.—Gesner's *Commentatio Hebraica* gives: "Fuci significatio certa est. Nempe cum ex 2 Reg. ix. 30 et Jer. iv. 30. constet mulieres eam ope hujus rei, *puch* dictæ, augere; audimus, Job, xlii. 14. patrem vocasse imam filiarum, Cornu  $\tau\epsilon$  *puch*, *Kerhappuch*, quasi copia omnis pulchritudinis." The general opinion, however, that it was antimony, he does not coincide in—"At interim inde infero  $\eta\text{פ}$  non esse stibium hoc enim cum sit coloris cæsii obscurioris et preterea adhiberi solitum sit denigratum fuligine admixta ut legitur apud, Ludolf. in *Comment. ad Hist. Habess*, Li. n. 51, 10, ideo non pertinet ad omnes ne quidem ad multas pulchritudinis partes. Hoc cum ita sint merito plerique interpretes, 2 Reg. ix. 30, et Jer. iv. 30, non dant voci  $\eta\text{פ}$  strictam significationem stibii sed utuntur generali nomine fuci." By seemingly another hand has been added—"Sed cum de alia re

agitur non admitto interpretationem lapidis pretiosi. Est potius gypsus: nam hic ædificiis plurimum confert, deinde affinitatem habet cum fuco ac proinde vix equivocacionem efficiet:—cerussam verbi gratia, quæ fuci species est, gypsus æmuletur.” His conclusion, however, though near, is not quite the truth. “Hæc distinctio docet  $\eta\epsilon$  non censeri inter lapides; sed esse aliquid quo mediante (quæ  $\tau\epsilon$   $\delta$  vis est) lapides stabilantur.” And the following consideration is very material to the right understanding of the term:—“Nota etiam nomen lapidis prope nomen  $\eta\epsilon$  non compareri nisi ubi agitur de ædificandis: nusquam vero ubi mere de ornamentis: quod vix futurum credas si esset aut carbunculus aut rubinus aut gemma ejusmodi. Mallem generali expositione sumere prospicie lapidum sed pro uso ad incrustatione fucandos muros, sed id nullo pacto in .Isaiah admitti potest.”

After this full exposition, the views of Parkhurst in his *Lexicon sub voce* seem of less consequence. They are directed more to the passage of Isaiah than of Chronicles, and consequently he dilates more on the signification of a means of attraction, by painting the eyelashes, and inside of the eyelids with antimony, than as David's stone; and he finds many and true difficulties in reconciling the account of the substance stibium in Pliny, which was soft and crumbling, with the nature of antimony, which is a very hard substance.\*

\* In Matthew's translation of the Bible, a passage with a word from the same root as the above, in Psalm xci. v. 5,

However, by the aid of metaphor, both the passages in Chronicles and in Isaiah are reconcilable; and our own vernacular translation of the first passage comes nearest the truth, if we take the words: stones that are set, in its objective instead of subjective sense, of *stones that cause others to set*, or *remain fast and firm*. Gesner was right when he said the word was only used when building was the subject; and those who have followed closely the superstitions of all nations, in calling magical and adventitious means to their aid, for strengthening and rendering firm the foundations of all buildings, well know how necessary, as the real stones, was some charm or mighty conjuration for the purpose. It is therefore certain that the writer adduced by the author of the article Puch, in the *Leipzig Universal Lexicon*, would not be wide of the mark when he looks upon the word as designating *the philosopher's stone*:—"Der Schriftsteller des Deutschen Tropfsteins der Scheidekunst schreibet das dieser Stein Puck, der Stein der Weisen bedeute, denn also rühmet David (Chron. i. cap. xxx. v. 23), er hinterlasse seinem Sohne Salomon. 'Umillum Æbni Puch: impletionum Lapidis Puch,' Anfüllungen, Stein des Spiessglases welches nichts anders als den stein der weisen bedeuten könne: immassen solches sonnenklar aus der Stelle (Esaia liv. cap., 11 v.) erhelle da Gott tröstet: Er lege die Steine im Puch und auch in folgenden versikeln die ganze Bereitung hinzusetzt

is translated, "Thou shalt not nede to be afraid of any *bugs* by night."

und der Chaldäischer Atsleger eben dieses ausdrücklich zu erkennen giebt wenn er sagt: Puch sei eben soviel, als Dohat oder Spiessglass." In fact, why, if the original summum bonum, at least for building, was not a stone, trying all the succedaneums of gases, tinctures, and elixirs, is still called searching for the philosophers' stone, it would be difficult to imagine. It would have been well if this magic had been confined to the bloodless practices of David, and restricted, as most probable, to some charmed stone; but we have abundant evidence that subsequently, living innocence, male or female infants, *were immured alive* under any wall or building of sufficient importance to command, or of such difficulty as to require, supernatural aid. Bridges, as the most difficult to found, give the most frequent examples; but as this would more appropriately illustrate another play of Shakespeare, and the incantations of Macbeth, I shall refer at some future time more particularly to this usage and foreign sorcery in general, if the present work prove acceptable to his admirers; it must at present be admitted upon my mere word. The Puch of David was, therefore, one or more objects, most probably stones, which were thought of efficacy by some supernatural agency, towards fastening and strengthening his intended magnificent edifice. Nor would its use in Isaiah and elsewhere, as a collyrium, be any other than metaphorically in the same sense. Fascination and Fast are as nearly allied in sound as in sense, and both have a common root in fas: permitted, subse-

quently sacred ; and they differ only in expressing the subjective and objective sides of the same idea—the obverse and reverse of one medal. The *fascination* of the serpent transfixes the bird, the object of its power, and sets it *fast*. The *fascies* of the Roman consuls are sometimes supposed to have had their name because their rods were bound *fast* together like a fachine. But it might as well typify the strength which the observance of law and authority infused into a state. The potency of the EYE, however, makes fascination principally applicable in Scripture and elsewhere to that organ. Cotgrave interprets fascination by “to eyebate,” and Bacon, *Nat. Hist.* p. 944, “We see the opinion of fascination is ancient for both effects : of procuring love and sickness caused by envie, and fascination is ever by the eye.”\*

We may conclude this subject by observing, that the last verse of the 54th chapter of Isaiah, already referred to, seems, as the consequence of setting their stones in Puch, to embrace the objects more peculiarly sought for by the modern Germans in being or making *fest*, *vide infra*, viz. security of person and success in litigation. “No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper, and every tongue that shall arise against thee in litigation thou shalt condemn ;” or, as Luther’s translation more plainly denotes—“Denn aller Zeug der wider dich zubereitet wird, dem soll es

\* It is not quite foreign to this subject to remark, that the name of the axe forming part of the fascies was securis, thus near in sound with securus, because passively bound *fast*, and actively causing things to become *fast*.



nicht gelingen : und alle Zunge so sich wider dich setzt sollst du im Gericht verdammen."

With such nominal vestiges of our divinity in the East, it is not wonderful that the Romans have retained the name pretty much unchanged in one of the most prominent members of their classic Olympus, and in the only one which they confessedly received from the East, in BACCHUS. The myths relating to, and formed concerning this god are too ramified and worked out by the fancies of their poets, or the theories of their philosophers, to be here gone into extendedly ; my present purpose will be served by pointing out such verbal congruities as appear to ripen the opening promise of his common title into the perfect fruit of truth and certainty. No deity had more synonyms ; in various authors we find him designated as Bromius, Evan, Thyonæus, Dionysius, Biformis, Briscæus, Jacchus, Dithyrambus, Messatæus, Lampter Cegobulus, Mychelius, Pocturnus, Polites, Melanegis. Of these, two, Bacchus and Poc-turnus, are perfectly apparent—the latter giving us additionally the name Torn, Tor, as modifications of the denominations of the arctic-god, Thor, whom I shall subsequently prove to be the same with Janus, to whom the epithets Biformis, Dithyrambus, are equally suitable or with greater propriety, than to Bacchus, but who, like Janus, seems to have been the universal deity. Macrobius (lib. i. *Sat.*) teaches us—"Bacchum eundem quam Solem." The Cegobulus and Melanegis are but translations of the Bock, or Goat ; and the latter exactly tallying with Zernibog in sense,

with the almost indispensable accompaniment of goats to a complete picture of the deity, prove this signification. Madame Dacier, and other commentators on the first satirists of the Latin tongue, have lost themselves in endless disquisitions on the name and origin of Satyr; the simple prefix of an A, and the consideration of the universality of all creeds, would find this name perfect, and the picture true, in the oldest cosmogony of the world; for the Edda is but the revelations of a later age for the world traditions that, driven into the farthest regions of the north, have there been preserved safe by the very distance and difficulty of approach. One of the principal deities recorded in this poem is Asa-Tyr, or Tyr of the Asi or Asians. Of this Tyr, Grimm has satisfactorily shown, that the Skan. Djans gen. Dwas gr. Ζεύς gen. Διός. Mso-Goth. Tuis gen. Tivis N. Týr gen. Týs are cognate words, signifying God; and the great figure which goats make amongst these arctic deities is sufficient to establish the resemblance. The Edda says—“Thor has a car drawn by two goats called Tanngniostr and Tanngrisenir. From his driving about in this car, he is called Anku Thor. Strabo (lib. 10) tells that the priests of Bacchus, amongst other names, were called Ti-tyri, the first syllable of which may be the article, or a mere prefix, just as the Mohammedan revelation went by the name of Alcoran, till our eastern conquests taught that the article was improperly included in the word. If we knew more of the domestic manners of ancient Persia, we should perhaps find that the name of the deity, like that of Mithras, was an

appellative, or designation of their higher orders of society. We know that the name of the ungrateful satrap who slew Darius, his fugitive and unfortunate master, was Bocchus; and the addition to the name of another Darius, Ochus, may have been colloquial, or a Greek corruption. So Bagoas was one of the attendants on Pharnabazus, sent to slay Alcibiades (*Cornel. Nepos, vita Alcibiadis*, cap. x.) This will prepare the reader for a curious, but, perhaps, more controverted conformity; the more startling because hitherto misconstrued, but the more satisfactory if established. We find with the goat a concurrent emblem for this great divinity in the serpent. Ophitic worship runs parallel in importance with veneration for the goat in all the mythologies of the north, and in many of the classic creeds. Six centuries of Christianity have not yet entirely obliterated the ancient veneration of the goat, as future proofs of recent sacrifices will establish; and the care and kindness with which a Lithuanian boor, or a Prussian peasant, will place milk (the favorite victual of Robin Goodfellow) for a pet serpent, that haunts his house or yard, is related by many of the historians. Thus, for Sweden (*Ihre. Jonas Monan*, p. 26):—

“Serpentum familiarum cultus adhuc (1750) quoque vestigia in nonnullis regionibus invenitur, qui vernacula decuntur; Tomte-Ormar. Angues isti familiares ingentis plerumque sunt magnitudinis nigrique coloris, sub pavementis cedium domicilia elegunt, cum domesticis conversari quin et una cum iis cibum capere ducuntur, nulli noxam inferunt. Horum tanta est veneratio ut ex iis pendere dextra et sinistra omnia creduntur; unde et illorum posses-

sores anxie observant ne quid damni illis inferatur nec quicquid ad eorum sustentationem deficiat; inauspicatum vero totique familiæ exitabile creditur illos violare, dehonestare aut lethefera manu aggredi. So in Temme's (an author now living) *Altpreußische Volks Sagen*, p. 258, Schlangen wurden in Preussen früher für heilig gehalten; man verehrt sie noch jetzt an manchen Orten besonders wenn sie unter dem Ofen oder sonst an einem verborgenem Platze in Hause sich aufhalten. Man lockt sie dann mit besonderen Gebeten hervor auf einem mit einem weissen Tuche bedecktem Tische wo ihnen der Wirth selbst allerlei Speisen aufgesetzt hat. Wenn sie davon kosten so bedeutet das Glück: Unglück kommt aber über das Haus wenn sie nicht heraus kommen oder wenn sie sich wieder zurück ziehen ohne von den Speisen etwas zu berühren." (*Acta Boruss.* ii. p. 407. *Hartknock's alt und neues Preussen*, p. 162.)

Though, therefore, the symbol of the deity is changed, and the Serpent introduced as the representative of the Goat, the name remains but slightly varied, as BAUG.



The annexed votive tablet, kindly lent from their Gloucester Book by the British Archæological Association, p. 150, is commonly read, "*numinibus Augustis*," which, I contend, should be read as the letters plainly indicate, and no more, *numini Baug*. It would be curious in an inscription in which there is not a single instance of contracted writing besides; in which even the word ET is displayed in full, and ÆDEM PRO PARTE, &c., with-

out the slightest abbreviation; that we should believe the principal words only signified by an exceptional contraction or conventional letters. The following is another inscription, where the numen BAUG is taken as a synonym, or addition to the Penine Jupiter: *vide Medailles, Inscriptions, Statues, &c. du Valais par M. Laurent Joseph Murith, Mem. de Antiq. de France, No. 7:—*

NVMINI BAUGG  
IOVI POENINO  
SABINEIIVS CENSOR  
AMBIANVS  
V.S.L'M.

There seems to be only a single and undivided invocation here to one deity, the Appenine Jupiter, to whom also the addition of the universal deity, as Baug, was most applicable,\* for under exactly this name he was not unknown in India. In Ferguson's *Rock Temples in India* (Lond. 1844, p. 27)—“In a small valley or ravine penetrating like that at Ajunth, into a table-land resting on the Ghât, on the north side of the Vale of Taptee, and about three miles from the small town of *Baug*, are situated four caves, which have been described by Lieut. Dangefield in the second volume of *Trans. of Lit. Soc. of Bombay*.” I have very little doubt that the sanctity of these cavern temples, which are beautifully and elaborately sculptured, and in which parts of the frescoes painted on the walls still remain, were dedicated to such deity by name, which it has left indelibly fixed on the neighbourhood. If my prescribed limit permitted, I might dilate and strengthen these views from other Roman and Romano-British

\* Had the author taken my view of this name he would not have had reason to inveigh against the profaneness or flattery that could place the Augustan names before the divinity of Jupiter. “Le numinibus Augg. le trouve ici avant le nom de Jupiter Pœnin une preuve certaine de degre auquel les Romains etaient capable de pousser leur baisse flatterie en donnant la preference aux empereurs sur les dieux meme.”

inscriptions, e.g. in *Lyson's Cumberland*, p. cliii. No. 7; and in *Horseley's Brit.* p. 192, No. 68; but I must at present forbear, and shall, therefore, merely point out, in the stone before us, the congruity of the carving at the end, with the ophitic worship I have described, and the name of the deity. I know not at what time the family of *Vaughan* may have assumed their present coat of arms, but it evinces a singular acquaintance with the mythology of ancient Britain. These arms are thus described in *Archæol. Cambr.* i. p. 45:—“The arms of the Vaughans of Brecknockshire were *sable three Boys' Heads*, coupled at the shoulder, argent, armed, or, *each having a snake wreathed round his neck*, azure. Sometimes they were borne on a chevron, argent.” (Vide also *Notes and Queries*, Mar. 22nd, 1851, No. 73, p. 223.) The name *Vaugh*, or *Baug-an* or *on* (the boy), was no doubt suggestive of the marshalling of this coat, and most appropriately. The same arms are borne by Maddocks, of Tiddenham—perhaps but a corruption of Paddocks—which, as used by Shakespeare, I have before shown is identical with Puck. Symbolically, at least, the virtue of the snake round the neck continues to the present day. In *Notes and Queries*, May 24th, 1851, No. 82, p. 405, we have the following piece of Folks lore: “I send you two remedies in use here, for the cure of the common complaint called large neck (qr. Goitre); a common snake, held by its head and tail, is slowly drawn, by some one standing by, nine times across the front part of the neck of the person affected, the reptile being allowed,

after every third time, to crawl about for a while. Afterwards the snake is put alive into a bottle, which is corked tightly, and then buried in the ground. The tradition is, that as the snake decays the swelling vanishes." The second charm differs from the first only in the greater mercy of killing the snake after the operation; and both have, as to their principal feature, their prototype in the efficacy of the snake deity; the subsequent immolation of the victim alive is but another superstition engrafted on the first. (*Vide* p. 100.) Something akin to this is a practice which Nork (*Kloster*, vol. ix. p. 552) adduces from an English authority, which he does not name: "Weil im Nord England im Herbst noch jetzt vermummte einen riesen Tanz (qr. Giant's Dance) aufführen bei welchem zwei Schwerter um das Hals eines Knaben geschwungen wurden, ohne ihn zu verletzen." These two swords are symbolical of the serpents, and the absence of injury from dangerous weapons is in full accordance with the heathen views of the innocence, if not the benefit, from otherwise venomous and offensive reptiles. The localities which abound in Britain and elsewhere, will be collected in a future page; at present I shall content myself with the district of Buch-an, in Scotland; which, even if like the Buconia, near Fulda, we derive from the size or number of its beech trees (*Buche*), would still have the universal Puch for its root—as this beautiful tree, in its indigenous woods, along the Weser, and in the entire Cimbric promontory, often attains the height of eighty feet, with an upright,



even and tapering boll, and was, therefore, worthy to receive the name of the god who was often worshipped beneath its umbrageous shades, and sought for in the deep solitude of its groves.

We have in France numerous figures of serpents, which appear entwined round human images; of these the most famous and best known are on an octagonal building, at Montmorillon, which were particularly described by Montfaucon and in *Bulletin Monum.* tom. vi. p. 345, with others there noted and engraved; as at St. Servin, at Bordeaux. (*Ib.* tom. xi. p. 192.) Sometimes a basilisk supplies the place of the serpent, as at St. Andre in the same town. (*Ibid.*) Then, again, toads and other noxious animals, as in the famous portal of the Abbey of Moissac, and the church of St. Croix at Bordeaux (*Ibid.*); and another on the capital of a column at St. Nicholas Church, at Angers (*Bul. Monum.* tom. vii. p. 517). For similar myths in England, we have a beautiful example, carved in wood, at Hulme Hall, in Lancashire, and engraved in Hibbert's *Philosophy of Apparitions*, p. 441. Most French authors follow the opinion of Montfaucon, that such reptiles are intended for representations of those noxious animals sucking the breasts of the human figures they entwine. This, however, the nature of ophitic worship and Hibbert's example would controvert, particularly as the attitudes of the figures, which are all somewhat indistinct (from age and ill usage), are perfectly in accordance with the Grecian tale of the infant Hercules strangling two serpents in his cradle. These are subsequent ex-

planations of emblems from misconception, but were eagerly seized upon by the poet and sculptor as the fields of beautiful imagery and description. The Laocoons of Virgil and the Vatican (not exactly the same), were the wonderful conceptions of great minds, embodying popular views, with all the powers of the style and the chisel—and the caduceus of Mercury was their prototype. For convenience of carrying by the hand, the serpents in the latter twine round it till they face the head of the human figures by which it is crowned; but in ante-fixes, or on tympanums, as in the monument of the Secundines at Igel, the Head alone appears. (*Vide* C. Roach Smith's *Collect. Ant.* vol. ii. p. 4, and Schmeller *Dissertation: Abhandlung der Philosoph. Philolog. Classe der könig. Baierischen Academie, München, 1847, 4to, p. 68, with engravings of the bas reliefs of each of its four sides, on a very large scale.*) The cherubims of our Christian churches seem to have become favourites, from their great resemblance to this pagan emblem.

The *ophitic worship*, however, of the ancients, and the practices which have arisen out of it at the present day, deserve their separate investigation, and can be here only slightly alluded to.

The antiquity and wide-spread adoration for the goat is also attested by its frequent recurrence in ancient Egypt. Creuzer (*Symbolik*, vol. i. p. 476, 2nd edit. 1819) particularises it, more especially for the male species, or Bock (Widder, our Wether, now restricted in English to the male of sheep,) as pervading from Syene's rocky defiles to the desert and the sea, in the Thebaid, in Middle

Egypt, and the Nile Delta. "Their keepers treated them with holy awe; and, when one of them died, it was a matter of general mourning for the entire Mendic nome. Deity, town, and beast had a common name, or, at least, the selected animal that visibly represented the God (Pan), was called Mendes, whence, according to Herodotus (*Euterpe*, c. 46), the city was also so called." On this subject consult also *Payne Knight's Inquiry on Symbolical Language*, § 33, p. 24. The form of this deity among the Egyptians had the goatish lineaments of the face, and the usual horned hoofs; and we may fancy the pitch of fanaticism to which the inhabitants of Mendes could carry their devotion, when we find it creditably stated, how improbable soever it may now appear, that the women submitted themselves to the unnatural lusts of the animal. To revert, however, to the Western devotion for this animal, we find, as well as in Prussia, so also in Lithuania, that a propitiation feast had the name of *Bock-weihe*—goat consecration, which is thus described from *Vollmer's Mythologie*, s. v.:—

"The inhabitants of a village assembled in their largest barn. Whilst the women kneaded the dough, the Weidelot held a black goat by the horns, and the men laid their right hand upon its back, and confessed aloud their misdeeds. Every one present was beaten by the priest according to the measure of his sins, or feelingly punished in some other way. The Weidelot then slew the goat, thus laden with the sins of the congregation, and sprinkled those present with the blood, that they might be purified; but he took the meat, that he might, as he said, offer it to the gods. Afterwards they drank of the intoxicating liquors they had brought with them, whilst the priest related the heroic deeds of their

ancestors, as long as he could speak ; and whilst the beastly drunken peasants gained in plenty fresh matter for another confession. These rites continued to be celebrated to the middle of the seventeenth century."

One thing is curious in all these Teutonic relations: the name of the principal performer, which runs through them. *Vellin* Supplit is evidently, in his first name, identified with the early Weidelott, or Priest of the Wends: \* so a reputed witch, burned at Königsberg, 5th May, 1570, was called *Stacy die Weidlerin* (*Tettau and Temme's Volks-Sagen Ost Preussens*, p. 138), and *Weidlerei* was the provincial term for sorcery. Thus, also, in the relation above, called the "*Goat Sacrifice*," we have the election of a *Weidelot*, to act as priest for the occasion, and to take the confessions of the accused, to enjoin or inflict penance, and to give absolution. But who does not see in all these names, and particularly in the first, the identity with the *Velleda*, of whose actions and power we have such an accurate observer and such an excellent reporter in *Tacitus Hist.*, lib. iv. 59-62, where, speaking of Civilis and his victory over the Romans, he says:—

"Mumius Luperchus Legatus legionis inter dona missus Velledæ. Ea virgo nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos mores quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrentur deas. Tuncque Velledæ auctoritas adolevit nam prosperas Germanis res et

\* Vide *Masch Religion der Obotriten*, p. 25. Die dritte art der Priester hiessen in wendischer Sprache *Veidels* oder *Vaidalottes* von dem Wendischen Worte *Waidin* Gelehrsamkeit. And (*Ibid.* p. 117) we have on the figure of a *Satyr*, of which more anon, the word *VEIDELBOT* engraven in Runic characters on the sole of the right hoof.

excidium legionum prædixerat.—Sic lenitis Teucteris legati ad Civilem et Velledam missi cum donis cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere. Sed coram adire aliquoque Velledam negatum. Arcebatur aspectu quo venerationis plus inesset. Ipsa edita in turre delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque ut internuntius numinis portabat.”

More is told, also (lib. v. chap. 22, and De Mor. Germ. chap. viii.), and all has been wonderfully adapted to modern belief by the great Wizard of the North in his *Norna of the Fitful Head*, in the “*Pirate*.” The unfortunate Stacy, or Eustatia, above-mentioned, fell upon that unpropitious interval in the world’s age, when she could neither be venerated as a deity, nor, though feared, yet tolerated as a witch. She was even brought to convict herself by a confession; for, besides much other than criminal matter, she admitted a carnal intercourse with the evil one, whom she more particularly describes “as a fine tall fellow in grand clothes, with puckered hose and doublet,” (ein schlanker Geselle in schönen Gewändern mit geschlitzten Hosen und Wamms bekleidet). It seems, however, that the first syllable of the name Velleda (though originally derived from the deity Bel) may in time have become generic for vaticination of any kind; thus one of the parts of the Edda is named Vol-u-spa, perhaps the oldest portion of that poem, and described by Mallet as a kind of Sybilline lay, which contains the whole system of Scandinavian mythology—the creation, the origin of man—how evil and death were brought into the world—and concludes by a prediction of the destruction and re-

novation of the universe, and a description of the future abodes of bliss and misery.

All these are fitting subjects for a prophetic virgin, or a *spae*-wife, as our northern countrymen would possibly call her, still retaining the last syllable of the Scandinavian denomination; as I think I find also our English *Beldame* in the integrity of the Romanized *Velleda*.

The existence to comparatively recent periods of superstitious practices, deduced from Heathen or Druidical rites, is too well vouched in most countries of Europe to admit of denial. The Christian religion was obliged to connive at practices which it could not suddenly eradicate or counteract; sometimes even, as in future examples, with the direct sanction of the ruling powers; but in general the Church put forward all her terrors, ostensibly at least, against any practices tainted with heathendom. Voigt, in his *History of Ancient Prussia*, relating (vol. vi. p. 75) the great ignorance in spiritual matters which obtained there towards the middle of the fifteenth century, and close upon the Reformation, particularly in the diocese of Samland (the scene of Veltin Supplit's magic in 1525), adduces the following extracts, from the episcopal decrees to remedy the evil, in support of his assertion:—

“ Ut de cetero in silvis et nemoribus nullas facient congregationes seu celebritates contra Statuta S. Matris Ecclesie et eorum Kresse non amplius celebrant sub pena rigide correctionis et privationis ecclesiastice sepulture.

“ Ut de cetero multum vel in secreta vel eciam in publico occidant, nec demoniis in eorum contuberniis immolent.

“ Omnino probibature eis ne cantaciones vel divinationes

in cerevisia vel pullis vel aliis quibuscunque modis exercent sub pena, &c.

“Quod nullus Pruthensis vir aut mulier in sylvis quoscunque abusus aut abominaciones de cetero exercent juxta ritus paganorum, cum ipsi Christiani sunt effecti, presertim juxta tumulos et sepulchra eorum, que vel Geten vel Cappyn juxta idiomata eorum nuncupantur in potationibus, et comentionibus sub pena strictissime flagellationis et penarum marcarum ecclesie et judici. Item de cetero nullus vir aut mulier ritus pannorum exercent post mortem defunctorum amicorum seu proximorum in cemetriis circa sepulchra fiendo vel salutando secuti usque modo facere consueverunt sub pena,” &c.

We may observe on these quotations that with this feast of Kresse are coupled, in another document, *Ibid.*, “heidnisse qwasse als mette, krysse, Snyke und dergleichen.” This qwasse signifies here, evidently, intoxicating liquors in general, as the modern Russian quass, of which mead (mette) and the other kinds, are subdivisions. So the *cantaciones in cerevisiam* strongly remind us of our daily Irish wakings of the dead; as the *ritus pannorum* is still practised in many places, especially round holy wells: that of St. Winnifred, in Flintshire, has the neighbouring bushes, at particular seasons, adorned with votive rags in a large circuit around, *cf. supra*, p. 94, the Calmuck Bogda.

We have the relation of an eye-witness, a few centuries before, that the practice of these dead wakes with continued drinking obtained thus early in an eminent degree, which shows the antiquity of the practice, and the necessity of these priestly prohibitions. Our great King Alfred, in his translation of *Orosius* into vernacular Saxon, intercalates, amongst other matters, the relation

of Wulfstan, a Baltic trader to the Vistula, about the end of the ninth century, into his narrative, who tells him: —

“ ȝ licgað hufan eorþan on hyra husum. ȝ ealle ða hwile he ƿæt lic bið inne. ƿær sceal beon gedrync.”

“(The body) lies above ground in their houses, and all the while, the corpse bides therein, there shall be drinkables.”

It is well known that even yet in many sequestered spots of our country, the grossest superstition and secret rites exist, which can most of them be traced to anti-christian practices, of which one instance occurs as late as the Reformation in the (now Episcopal) fane at Ripon, mentioned in the *Winchester Book* of the Brit. Archæolog. Association, p. 440 :—“ To quote an illustration from the magical practices of our canons, I have discovered that they possessed, even at the Reformation, and used liberally, a mysterious instrument, called in the papers St. Wilfred’s *birnyng iron*; and a still more indescribable article, called the *Pokstone of St. Wilfred*.” Of this latter article, later on, I shall be able to give a satisfactory explanation; and it were well if all our superstitious practices were restricted to such harmless objects; but the following relation will show how often, even with all the boasted civilization of our age and country, cruelty is mingled with the rite. The Prussian sacrifices, above related, are all practised on the slaughtered animal; but with us the sacrifices to Moloch are revived, and a slow and lingering death by fire is a necessity for the victim:—



“An ignorant old farmer having met with some severe losses in his cattle about the year 1800, was much afflicted with the misfortune. The malady still continuing, and all remedies failing, he thought it necessary to have recourse to some extraordinary measure. Accordingly, on consulting with some of his neighbours, equally ignorant with himself, and evidently not less barbarous, they recalled to their recollection a tale which tradition had handed down from remote antiquity, that the calamity would not cease *until he had actually burned alive the finest calf which he had on his farm*, but that when this *sacrifice* was made the murrain would afflict his cattle no more. The old farmer, influenced by this counsel, resolved immediately on reducing it to practice. He, accordingly, called several of his friends together on an appointed day, and having lighted a large fire, brought his best calf forth, and, without ceremony or remorse, pushed it into the flames. The innocent victim, on feeling the intolerable heat, endeavoured in vain to escape. The barbarians that surrounded the fire were armed with pitch-forks, or pikes as in Cornwall they are generally called, and as the burning victim endeavoured to escape from death, with these instruments of cruelty the wretches pushed the tortured animal into the flames, until the dying victim poured out its expiring groan, and was consumed.” (*Vide Hitchin's History of Cornwall.*)

It is impossible not to agree with the historian who relates the fact, that this was an ancient relic of Druidism—a sacrifice to Fate or Fortune. In their undefined reminiscences of the long exploded rites of our pre-Christian priesthood, it was dimly suggestive to these biped brutes, that a living victim was the most acceptable offering, and the substitution of a calf for the Prussian goat was perhaps an accident; it is the same idea upon a reduced scale that prompts, perhaps, at the present day, the immolation of a shrewmouse alive,

or the corking up a serpent in a phial bottle, till both expire in lingering torments. (*Vide Notes and Queries*, quoted p. 109.) But it is sickening to find that we have such a public and flagrant act of blended ignorance and superstition recorded against the inhabitants of Cornwall in the present century.

That this divinity of Bog has been transferred to the Goat, which has in Germany no other name than *Bock*, this not merely verbal permutation, but identity, may assure us. We English use the word *Buck* only as signifying the male species of certain definitive animals—a buck rabbit, and the buck, or roebuck. Adelung finds, as he conceives, five different meanings of this word, from five different roots, which, however, he cannot enumerate. Had he considered, for his principal objection, the meaning of *Bock*: as a thing on or by which any thing rests or hangs (Shakespeare's buck-baskets, are the objective idea, because hung or slung by two handles, through which a pole is passed) as also bucket\* and buckle; in connexion with the old city of Balk, the capital of Bocharia (*vide* page 87); and its significations both in English and German, as a balk, balken; to which, curiously enough, the Latin *caprificus*, as the bearing timber of a king-post roof, or the principal beam in it, answers, and thereby returns, the name again to the animal, without metaphor,

\* The usual expression, "*kicking the bucket*," has never been explained. It is merely a suggestion that it may allude darkly to an insult to, or driving away, the guardian angel, or Puck.

by a mere translation. Had Adelung taken all this into his consideration, his objections must, I think, have vanished ; so far is this carried, that the word *Bow*, in German *Bogen* (arch), seems most satisfactorily accounted for in the active sense of Bock, from its peculiar power and strength of bearing. We know St. Mary le Bow was so called from the arches on which it was built ; and many streets in British towns have their names from the gates or arches at their terminations, as the Bow in Edinburgh, Stratford le Bow, &c. &c.

The Greek name of the goat, *τραγος*, would, I have little doubt, have also its verb with the signification of *to carry* ; though *τραγῶω* has only the meaning of bearing luxuriantly leaves in the vine, and *ρῶγω*, to nibble, as the goat, at the vine ; yet the German *tragen*, to carry ; our drag and draw, would most decidedly point to this signification, as of yorest use : *τραγ-ῶδια*, tragedy, would also have its signification, as odes to this god Bog, in its translation of Goat : the *ῶδια*, I look for in the Phallus worship : the German oden, of which their use in klein-odien, for jewels and gems, is a curious exemplification ; and the many allusions to the generative power, in sculpture, of figures with bags depending from their necks, of which one in bronze was lately found in London, now in possession of William Crafter, Esq. of Gravesend, and etched by my friend, H. Burkitt,\*

\* The accompanying etching, from the amateur burin of that gentleman, has been kindly placed at my disposal by its friendly artist.

Esq., F.S.A., of the Bank of England; in which other marks of a Puck are found; but the delicacy of our age prevents the following of this subject of a Phallus farther.

We have, moreover, in the earliest German language, the verbal identity of Goat, or Bock, with Puch. Notger, a monk of the famous Abbey of St. Gall, in Switzerland (†1022), published an excellent vernacular translation of the Psalms towards the close of the tenth century, and he uses the word *Poccho* for the Goat.\*

It is another curious proof how language follows thought, that our English name for this Goat, an animal deified in all countries, should in our own be identified with divinity: its designation as *Goat* is too closely allied to *God*, for the identity to be disputed; and as it stands isolated with us in such a sound, so it admits therefore of no other etymology or compa-

\* How significant, however, this goitre-like protuberance under the neck was, in our Roman period, may be conjectured from its potency still continuing, though for that evil into which all pagan spells were converted, under the Christian dispensation. I copy, as an instance, from Hone's *Table Book*, vol. i. 674, a correspondent signing "Carte," and writing from near Milnthorpe, in Westmoreland, who, speaking of witches thereabout, says: "There is generally, also, a protuberance of flesh on some part of the neck or jaw, by which it is known that she has sold herself to the evil one." In the *Antichita d'Ercolano*, vol. v. 29, is the bust of a youth, of the most beautiful proportions; but under the chin is a pendulous bag, like the dew-lap of a cow; and in a recent number of the *Academick Transactions of Berlin*, is a long dissertation on a bust of Trophonius, where the swelling under the chin is totally different from the appearance of a beard.

riſon. We have retained the *name*; our continental neighbours have kept their *reverence* for this animal as a divinity. Instances of ſacrifices to a late period are recorded in Prussia, where the Goat was ſubjectively the ſacrifice, or objectively the thing adored; and we ſhould, as for Apis on the banks of the Nile, have to ask :

“ Why now a victim, and now Prussia’s God ? ”

The following are two remarkable instances, copied from Tettau and Temme’s “ *Preussische Volkssagen* ” :—

VELTIN SUPPLIT.—“ In dem Jahre 1520, als der Herr Albrecht der Aeltere Markgraf zu Brandenburg, und der Zeit Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens mit dem Polen Könige Sigismund im offenen Krieg lebte und von diesem in grosse Enge getrieben war liessen sich auch plötzlich die Schiffe der Pohlen auf der See, und in Haſſ blicken, und drohten einen Einfall in Sammland. Dort lebte damals an dem ſtrande ein Freibauer, namens Valtin Supplit ſehr angeſehen unter allen ſeinen Landesleuten, denn er ſtammt ab von den alten Priestern des Landes und war auch im ſtillen der oberſte Weideler oder Priester. Dieser ſagte daſſ er wohl Rath wiſſe den Feind von dem Lande abzuhalten wenn er nur die Erlaubniſſ der Obrigkeit hätte. Das wurde dem Markgrafen überbracht welcher in der groſſen Noth des Landies zu Allem ſeine Einwilligung gab. Als dieſes der Valtin hörte, verſammelte er die Bauern aus allen benachbarten Dörfern : hier nahm er einen ganz ſchwarzen ſtier und zwei tonnen bier und begaben ſich alle damit an den ſtrand. Als man dort ankam hat er den Stier geſchlachtet und dann zerhauen : daſ Eingeweide aber nahm er heraus und verbrannte es ſammt den Knochen und daſ Fleiſch wurde in einen groſſen Kessel gekocht. Dieſes alles begleitete er durch ſeltſame Geberden durch Hände und Füſſe und dabei ſprach er viele Gebete zu den alten Göttern des Landes. Darauf wurde daſ fleiſch und

das Bier verzehrt bis nichts mehr davon übrig war wobei wiederum seltsame Gebete gesprochen wurden.

“Einige Tage liessen sich wieder die Schiffe der Pohlen sehen aber es gelang ihnen nicht weder mit grossen noch mit kleinen Schiffen noch mit den Boten obgleich es das Beste war und kein Feind sich ihnen entgegenstellte. Das konnte nun der Markgraf und seine Krieger nicht begreifen. Als aber nach Beendigung des Krieges, mehrere so in den Schiffen gewesen nach Sammland gekommen, haben sie den Grund angegeben wie sie nämlich durch seltsame Verblendungen abgehalten worden. Bald war ihnen der Strand wie ein grausamer und entsetzlicher Abgrund vorgekommen, bald wie hohe unersteigliche Sandberge. So ist es ihnen überall ergangen bis sie zuletzt unverrichteter Sache wieder umgekehrt.

“Allein seit der Zeit ist den Bauern jener Gegend das Unglück widerfahren dass sie keine Fische mehr in die See haben fangen können, so viel Mühe sie sich deshalb auch gegeben. Das hat sieben Jahre gedauert und es ist dabei grosse Noth in der Gegend entstanden. Da hat endlich Valtin Supplit bekannt, dass dieser grosser Unheil aus seinem eigenen grossen Versehen geschehen, da er bei der Opferung des Stiers Alles zurückgewiesen was sich dem Ufer näherte und mit grosser Unbedachtsamkeit die Fische auszunehmen vergessen habe. Um ihnen nun wieder zu helfen hat er darauf eine Sau kaufen und wohl mästen, auch zwei Tonnen Bier anschaffen lassen, damit ist er unter Begleitung der Bauern an den Strand gegangen. Alsdann hat er die fette Sau mit vielerlei sonderbaren Geberden geschlachtet, sie rein gemacht und die abgeschnittenen Zitzen in die See geworfen, das Andere aber in einen Kessel gethan und zum Trunk wohl gesalzen. Als dies nun gekocht gewesen, haben alle davon gegessen auch das Bier getrunken bis nicht mehr davon übrig gewesen. Darauf sind die Fische wieder gekommen in grösseren Haufen denn je.

“Der Pfarrer zu Pokethen hat zwar die Sache angezeigt und Supplit und die Bauern haben Strafe gethan, allein dies haben sie gern gethan da sie wieder Fische hatten.”—*Luc. David Bd. I. s. 118 & 123 ; Vergl. Henneberger, s. 351.*

VELTIN SUPPLIT (*vide* Tettau and Temme's *Volks Sagen Ost-Preussens*, 133, No. 128).—"In the year 1520, when Lord Albrecht, the Elder, Markgraf of Brandenburg, and then Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, was in open war with Sigismund, King of Poland, and driven by him to great extremity, the vessels of the latter suddenly appeared in the Haf, and threatened a landing on the coast of Samland. At that time there lived on this strand a small farmer, called Veltin Supplit, much looked up to by all his countrymen, for he was descended from the old priests of the district, and was covertly their highest Weideler, or Priest. This man said he knew the means of driving the enemy from their shores, if he had only permission from his superiors to use them. This was related to the Markgraf, who, in the imminent peril of the country, gave him his fullest permission. When Veltin heard this, he collected the farmers from all the neighbouring villages, and took a perfectly black ox and two hogsheads of beer, with which they all went to the strand. Arrived there, the ox was slaughtered, and cut into pieces; but the entrails, with the bones, were burnt, and the flesh put to boil in a large kettle. All this he accompanied with strange twistings of hands and feet, accompanied by many prayers to the old divinities of the country. Afterwards the meat and beer were consumed, so that nothing was left, attended, as before, with many odd prayers and ceremonies.

"Some days afterwards, the ships of the Poles came again in sight; but they could do nothing either with their great or small vessels, or with their boats, though they were favoured by the finest weather, and no armed force was opposed to them. This appeared inexplicable to the Markgraf and his generals; but when, after the war, many who had been on board these vessels came into Samland, they explained the matter, by declaring that they were prevented landing by a strange illusion. At one place there appeared in the strand a dreadful and hideous gulph, and in another a high impracticable cliff; and so it happened all along the coast, that they returned home without having accomplished their object.

“ However, from that time forwards it happened, unfortunately for the peasantry of the district, that they could catch no fish in this sea, notwithstanding every endeavour. Thus it continued seven years, and the country suffered the greatest need in consequence. At last Veltin Supplit confessed this great misfortune arose from a mighty inconsiderateness on his part, having, when he offered up the black ox, driven back every thing from approaching the shore, but at the same time forgotten to except the fish. To make matters good again, he bought and fattened a sow, and, with it and two hogsheads of beer, he again proceeded to the strand. This masted sow he slaughtered there, with a repetition of the same strange gestures, cleaned out the entrails, and threw the paps into the sea, but the meat into a kettle with much salt, to promote drinking. When it was sufficiently boiled, all partook of it, and drank out the beer, till nothing was left. Afterwards the fish appeared in greater shoals than ever. It is true the pastor of Polkethen denounced the matter, and Supplit and the peasants were punished ; but they bore all willingly, since they had gotten the fish again.”

DAS BOCK HEILIGEN (Tettau and Temme, p. 261).—“ Die Ceremonie des Bockheilighens soll noch jetzt hin und wieder in Preussen zur Verehrung und Versöhnung der alten Götter des Landes obgleich sehr im geheimen geschehen. Es kommen nämlich aus meheren Dörfern die Bauern zuzammen. Dort wählen sie unter sich einen alten Mann zum Waidelotten (so hiessen die alten hiednichen Priester) dann machten sie in der Mitte der Scheime ein grosses langes Feuer und nun bringen die männer einen Bock herbei, die Weiber aber Weizenmehl welches geknetet wird. Ist dieses fertig so setzt sich der Waidelot auf einen erhöhten Sitz von welchem er an die Versammlung eine Rede hält über die Urankunft des Preussischen Volks und das Land ; über dessen Helden-thaten und Tugenden ; über die Gebote der Götter und was sie von den Menschen fordern. Dann führt er den Bock in die Mitte der Versammlung, legt seine Hände auf ihn und ruft alle die alten Götter nach der Reihe an, dass sie gnädig herabschauen wollten. Darauf fallen alle An-



wesenden vor dem Waidelotten in die Knie und beichten ihm mit lauter Stimme ihre Sünden mit welchem sie vermeinen die Götter zum Zorne gereizt zu haben. Darauf stimmen sie einen Lobgesang an die Götter an, *fassen nun alle den Bock an, heben ihn in die Höhe und halten ihn so lange bis der Lobgesang zu Ende ist.* Ist dieses geschehen so setzen sie den Bock auf die Erde und der Waidelotte ermahnt nun das Volk das Opfer mit tiefer Demuth zu verrichten und so wie es von ihren Vorfahren auf sie gekommen es auch auf ihre Nachkommen zu bringen. Als dann schlachtet er den Bock, fängt das Blut in einer Schüssel auf und besprengt die Herumstehenden damit, giebt auch jedem etwas davon in ein Gefäß um es nachher dem Vieh zum trinken zu geben welches dadurch gegen Krankheit beschützt wird. Darauf wird der Bock in Stücke gehauen welche auf Brettern über das Feuer gelegt wird um es zu braten. Während des Bratens fallen sie alle wieder in die Knie vor dem Waidelotten, der sie nun für die vorher gebeichteten Sünden straft indem er sie schlägt, an den Haaren reißt u. s. w. Doch bald kehrt sich dieses um und sie fallen über den Waidelotten her, den sie eben so reissen und schlagen. Wenn dieses geschehen so machen die weiber aus dem mitgebrachten Mehl Kuchen. Diese werden aber nicht in einen Backofen gebraten sondern sie geben sie den Männern welche sich zu beiden Seiten des Feuers stellen und die Kuchen wieder einander durch das Feuer so lange zuwerfen (therefore the long fire) bis sie gar sind. Zuletzt geht dann das Essen und Trinken an, welches den ganzen Tag und die folgende Nacht dauert.

“Was von dem Mahle übrig bleibt wird sorgfältig vergraben: durch ein solches Opfer glauben sie die Götter sich besonders gnädig zu machen.

“In Sammland wird auf diese Weise eine Sau geheiligt oder geopfert besonders um dadurch einen reichen Fischfang zu erwerben. Diese Opfer werden übrigens alle sehr heimlich getrieben: und als einstmals ein Fremder zufällig dazu gekommen, hat er nur mit vieler noth sein Leben retten können.”

THE GOAT SACRAMENT.—“The ceremony of a Goat Sacra-

ment is said still to take place here and there, in Prussia, as a worship of the old divinities of the country, though kept extremely secret. The farmers of many villages meet and choose amongst themselves an old man as *Weidelott*—for so the old priests of the land were called—and then they make in the centre of a barn a large and long fire; the men then fetch a goat, and the women wheaten flour, which they knead. When this is done, the *Weidelott* places himself upon a raised seat, from which he addresses a speech to the congregation, on the primeval settlement of the Prussian people and their country; on their heroic deeds and virtues; on the behests of their deities, and their demands upon their votaries. He then leads the Goat into the middle of the crowd, lays his hands upon it, and invokes all the old gods in succession, to look down graciously upon them. All the assembly then falls down on its knees before the *Weidelott*, and confesses with a loud voice the transgressions, with which they believe they have incited their gods to anger. A hymn of praise to their deities is then chaunted in chorus, and they all lay hold of the goat and raise it on high till the song is finished. They afterwards put the animal on the ground, and the *Weidelott* warns the people to perform the sacrifice of the Goat in the deepest devotion, and to continue the ceremony to their posterity as they received it from their ancestors. He then slaughters the goat, and receives the blood into a dish, with which he sprinkles all present, and pours every one some of it in a vessel to give to his cattle to drink, which are thus defended from sickness. The goat is then hewn in pieces, which are placed on boards over the fire to roast; and during the process all fall again on their knees before the *Weidelott*, who applies penance for all the sins previously confessed, by striking them, pulling their hair, &c. But the scene is soon changed, for the assembly, in their turn, attack the *Weidelott*, whom they pull about and beat. After this the women make cakes from the meal they brought with them. These are, however, not baked in the oven, but are given to the men, who place themselves on each side of the fire, and throw the cakes so long across it till they are done. Afterwards the eating and drinking commences, which lasts all

that day and the entire night following. What remains of the flour is carefully buried. By such a sacrifice they believe their gods are made especially propitious.

“In Samland, a sow is sacrificed, with the same observances; more particularly to obtain a successful fishery; but all these rites are conducted very secretly, and when once a stranger had accidentally intruded on them, he had great difficulty in escaping with life.”

The very peculiar rites of raising the goat till they had finished the hymn of praise, in this latter instance, may have given rise to the curious custom of “*Lifting*,” vide Hone’s “*Every Day Book* :” and the throwing the cakes backwards and forwards over the fire till baked sufficiently, be but a modification, or symbolical representation, of passing children through the fire to Moloch, as represented in various parts of Scripture—it is to be hoped in the same harmless and bloodless manner as not unfrequently practised in Britain at the present, by driving horses and cattle betwixt two burning lots of faggots, or as boys jump over bonfires, without now looking upon it as any thing but a feat of activity, but formerly believed to be a great purifier and protection from evil. The *black bit* of the bettane cake, in Scotland (vide *Jamieson’s Dictionary*, s. v. Bettane), which determines by lot the devoted person who is to be sacrificed to Baal, to render the year productive, represents the black goat, or sow, of former times, and more potent rites; and these again may have been, as Jamieson supposed, “but the substitutes of human victims;” although they now pass from the act of sacrificing, and only compel the devoted person to leap three times round the fire.

## CHAPTER IV.

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“ Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστὶ, Ζεὺς ἐσσεταί, ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς.”  
PHŒMONÉ.

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“ Ehe die Erde war, und die Tiefe des Meers und der  
Himmel  
War Allvater derselbe, der ward, der ist, und der sein wird  
Wandelos fest und des Wandelbaren ewiger Urgrund.”

HAVING brought this God Bog, both in name and substance, to the west, we find it there permanently fixed as the pure indigenous designation of their deity to the majority of the inhabitants of Europe, the Slavonians. The Slavonian population of this quarter of the globe is greater than any other nationality, and the principal, nay, the only, word by which the Christian or any other God is there denoted, is BOG. The German archæologist, Wörbs, in an article in *Ertsch and Grüber's Encyclopædie*, s. v. Bog, says—Bog, Boh, Buh, is the name of God amongst all the Slavonic nations; and Grim, *D. M.* p. 14,—“The supreme deity is considered as omnipresent, and, like the host, to take the stranger under his immediate protection, so that the Slavonian says to the approaching guest, “Bog te usprimi—God receive you.” Weber,

in his description of Germany, speaking of both Upper and Lower Lausitz, says the inhabitants are called by the Germanized Bohemians, on the other side of the Erzgebirge, as a kind nickname, *Pomeloi Bog*, because of their frequent use of this pious ejaculation, meaning "*Preserve you God.*" From the frequent use of a phrase of, I am sorry to say, a directly contrary tendency, Englishmen have frequently received, amongst the denizens of Fatherland, the unenviable sobriquet of Herr, or Milord Godammee.

The shortest, and perhaps the truest, exposition of the Wendic religion is certainly found in Elias Schedius de *Diis Germanorum* (Ed. Amst. 1648, 12mo), p. 505 :—

"Malum deum lingua sua *Zernebuch*; bonum *Belbuch* vocantes (Vandali) teste Münster l. iii. Cosmographiæ; *Zcerne* autem apud Vandalos nigrum sonat; hinc *Zcernevitz* nigrum lumen, *Zcernebitz* niger fundus est. *Bel* vero albus est et *Belbuch* deus albus; *Zernebuch* vero deus niger; bonum et malum putabant genium et Satanam quasi boni et mali authorem juxta Manichæum errorem. Sed et *Belbuch* illum alii *Juterbuch* vel *Juterbock* vocant, et nescio quam fabulam de Juttæ cujusdam capro subnectant."\*

\* I quote, in addition, the following account of the Roman duality, from Spence's *Polymetis*, p. 2 :—"The deities of the Romans were so numerous, that they might well complain of wanting a nomenclature to their names. Their vulgar religion, as indeed that of the Romans in general, was a kind of Manicheism. Whatever was able to do good, or to do harm to man, was immediately looked upon as a superior power, which, in their language, was a deity." And his note.

There is a gem in the cabinet at St. Genevieve, at Paris, in particular, which was formerly used as an amulet, with this inscription—*Απο παντος κακῆ Δαιμονος*. In the

It is strange that the author, a native of Mecklenburg, and a denizen of Güstrow, should not have perceived that the *Juterbock* is but a translation of *bonus deus*, corrupted into the well-known patois of the Marks, from *guter Bock*, the *good goat*; it is a pity that he disdained to recount the popular relations of this Biel or Bilbog, as they might have given us possibly some curious and now forgotten traces of the ancient worship. A very old town exists in the heart of the old Mark of Brandenburg, called Jüterbock, which, famous at the time of the Reformation for the forced disgorging which Luther's adversary, Tenzel, there made of the produce of his Absolution bulls, is yet more famous for a fane of Wendic worship, which worse than Vandal hands destroyed within a century only of the date at which I am writing.

It would require the enthusiasm of a Stukely to express indignation adequately at this piece of gratuitous barbarism. The destruction of his round temple to Consus, on the Carron, could not same manner the vulgar scheme of religion among the Romans admitted as easily of bad as of good deities, as one learns from Pliny, l. 2. c. 7 :—"Fragilis et laboriosa mortalitas, in partes ista digessit infirmitatis suæ memor ut portionibus coleret quisque quo maxime indigeret. Itaque nomina alia aliis gentibus et numina in iisdem innumerabilia reperimus; inferis quoque in genera descriptis morbisque et multis etiam pestibus: dum esse placata trepido metu cupimus. Ideoque etiam publice Febris fanum in palatio dicatum est: Orbonæ ad Ædem Larium; ara malæ Fortunæ, Exquiliis; Quamobrem major cælitum populus etiam quam hominum intelligi potest.—Petron. *Sat.* p. 35. Nostra regio tam præsentibus plena est numinibus ut facilius posse deum quam hominem invenire."

have long preceded the demolition of the Temple of the Bielbog at Jüterbock. Luckily, in 1617, we have the description of it by a cotemporary, Pastor Hannemann, of Wittenberg, in a place we should least expect to find it, viz., in the printed edition of a sermon, preached on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his holy office. The translation of his words is as follows :—

“ Even now we see on the new market (at Jüterbock), a round hill on which the inhabitants of the suburb, on festive occasions, marriages, &c., perform dances. This hill had a Wendic Idol Temple. The yore fane, which gave occasion to the foundation of the town, was pulled down some forty good years ago, and served for the worship of the Pagan deity of the dawn of day. It was in length, breadth, and height to the roof, a cube of 40 feet, and built of brick, but had a groined vault (ein kreuz gewölbe) in the gable roof, over the square. The door, southwards, was so low, that it was necessary to stoop on entering. It had no window, but only a round hole, guarded by a strong iron railing, towards the east, and exactly towards sunrise at the time of the equinoxes, of the size of the bottom of a cask, through which the sun could shine.” \*

\* The Oratory described by Wakeman (*Irish Archaeology*, p. 59), has very curious coincidences with this account. The south door, small eastern window, and parallelogram form, are common to both. It is curious that the oldest temple in Rome, that erected by Romulus to Jupiter Ferretrius (*Liv. i. 10*), was of the same oblong form, but considerably smaller, about 15 feet at its longest side, but was enlarged by Ancus Martius, as we may infer from *Liv. i. 32* and *33*. Its size is taken from the translation of Dionys. Halicar. i. p. 34, by Lasus of 1480, which preceded the earliest edition of the Greek text by 66 years, where the dimensions are given much smaller. I have no hesitation in comparing these most ancient fanes of Italy, Prussia, and Ireland, particularly as

This simple eastern window is exactly in accordance with the description of an Irish Oratory, adduced by Petrie in his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities* of that country, where, though the dimensions of the edifice seem smaller, the west door one foot nine inches wide at top, and two feet four inches at base, may have been equally difficult of access with its Wendic prototype. It is to be lamented that we cannot trace further conformities; but on a visit to the ruins of Chorin, once a celebrated Cistercian convent, near Neustadt-Eberswalde, I saw the walls of a very old stone edifice, on a slight eminence towards the west, which appeared to me, in dimensions and some other particulars, in accordance with the description of that at Jüterbock; and I only lament that my short stay did not permit an accurate and measured survey.

It is not my intention, at present, to enter further into the tenets, ritual, and customs of the heathen religion of the Wends, further than is illustrative of our own Shakespeare's Puck: I shall, therefore, only mention at present the deities, *Swantovit* or *Swatovit*, *Gerovit* or *Herovit*, *Porevit*, *Rugiavit*, in all of which, as the final syllable, *vit*, answers to the *Biel* in *Bielbog*, we can only find provincial varieties or synonyms of the *white* god. For, as I have before observed,

in the dispute about the *Ferretrius* addition, to the name of Jupiter, its derivation from *Fercullus*, connected with the *Suovetaurilia*, deserves the preference, and would connect it, at least verbally, as *ur-sus* (hoar or yore sow) subsequently the great Northern Bear and *Zam-bor* of the Slaves—with the *Bor* of the *Edda*.



Biel is the Slavonic still for the presence of that color which Newton's laws of optics teaches us combines every other in itself, and the very symbol of the deity of day or light—Helios, the great god of the Greeks, the sun, the emblem of sanctity.

“ In pure white robes, *like very sanctity*  
Did she approach.”

—*Winter's Tale*, Act. iv, sc. 2.

It would be curious and instructive, as to the progress of the human mind, and for tracing the civilization of our race, if we could discover the period at which the idea of one supreme overruling and beneficent Deity was superseded in the West by that of a duality of power, typified respectively as a white and black divinity; and also when the emblem of a goat, an animal remarkable neither for physical strength nor beauty, nor for any peculiar benefit to man, was taken up by him as the sacred type. In all these respects it was surpassed by the well-proportioned and laborious *ox*, which, however, in Europe never rose above the dignity of a victim. Looking upon central Asia as the common diverging point of the human race, its southern and eastern branches seem, it is true, to have fixed their devotion on this animal, as developed in the sacredness of the cow amongst the followers of Bramah, and in its natural prototype found by them at the Cow's Mouth on the Ganges; as well as in the cultivated worship of the Bull Apis of the Nile. In the West *Ippology*, perhaps a later heresy, partially divided the votaries of the goat,

and may have been a tardy acknowledgment of the superior utility and finer formed outlines of the noble and fiery horse, when the milk of the mares, and the flesh of the foals, formed a large preponderating portion of human sustenance ; so that the earliest name by which the Thracians are known to Homer, was that of *Ἰππομολγοί*, or milkers of horses. To this creed we may suppose the majority of the first British colonizers of our island more especially devoted, as the earliest traces of their existence and veneration in the white horse cut on the chalk cliffs of Berkshire and elsewhere, Bede's account of the conversion of Coifi (to which I shall subsequently recur), our earliest coins, and other existing monuments, sufficiently testify. Yet the general name of the Deity was Bog, as taken from the goat, which, while it attested its earlier and superior veneration, may account for the absence of monumental or graven traces of its existence amongst us. The only outward features of this animal commanding awe or affection was the beard,\* and in many species, *e.g.* the Ibex (Steinbock), a peculiarly vigorous and graceful development of the horn ; the former would give it weight and dignity in the eyes of ruling elders, but it is most probably to the latter that it owes its mythic power and uncontrolled hold on the minds of so many ancient nations. It would be superfluous

\* So *Schedius de Diis Germanorum*, p. 494, attributes, after Lucian, a beard as an essential mark of Jupiter, as well as his horns. "Lucianus enim in sacrificiis cum multorum Deorum formam describit solem Jovem id præcipuum ha-

here to insist, in any degree commensurate to the subject, on the veneration and sanctity that has in all times and in all countries attached itself to horns. The Scriptures abound with passages where power, glory, brightness, and authority, are attributed or accompany horns. The face of Moses was encompassed with shining radiating horns, when it was intended figuratively to represent the brightness of the holy sechinah to which he had stood face to face, reflected in his features, and too powerful for the children of Israel to look upon, and which Moses was consequently obliged to cover with a veil. Horns are in the ram the principal, and a powerful weapon of defence or aggression, and they therefore frequently symbolise strength, as, the Lord exalteth the horn of the mighty: he breaketh the horn of the ungodly, Moses compares Joseph, for his power, to the horn of the rhinoceros. The vision of Daniel (chap. viii.) is the most ample illustration of Scriptural symbolical language in reference to horns, especially of the unicorn and double-horned ram, which have here their peculiarly expressive significance, as especially the emblems of Macedonia\* and Media. The ram's head must, however, have been also a symbol of the highest Persian power, for we learn from *Amminianus*, *bere dicit quod sit barbatus. In consilio præterea Deorum cornua etiam ille jungit arietis.* So that the goat would answer most perfectly amongst the brute tribe to the description or picture of Olympic Jupiter.

\* Hereon consult the very learned Essay of Taylor Combe, on the ancient symbol of Macedon, with many illustrations, in the *Archæolog.*, vol. xiv., p. 14.

lib. xix., chap. i, that when the King of Persia took the field he wore, instead of a diadem, a golden ram's head adorned with gems. "Insidens autem equo ante alios celsior ipse præibat agminibus cunctis *aureum capitis arietis figmentum* instructum capellis pro diademate gestans;" and we learn from Xenophon that the ram was signified in the Persian language, no doubt, as a derivative, by the word *caranus*, also meaning horns, like the Greek primitive *κερας*. Finn Magnusen, the learned expounder of the Edda, finds, in the twelve names of Odin, the twelve signs of the Zodiac; and as *Aries* is the first in the series of these heavenly bodies, so is *Al-fadir* its corresponding denomination; the highest in power and authority in this arctic Olympus. But in the intermediate stages, from the Indus to Iceland, the veneration of the goat may be followed in tradition and history. We have no accounts of the present internal state of the European provinces of the Turkish empire, so that we cannot learn how much at present of ancient reverence and popular belief may attach to the goat; but that it was originally of great force, and interwoven into their most remote history, their earliest myths plainly show. We find in the life of the first King of Macedon, with the significant name of Keraunos, and whose reign, according to Justin (lib. vii., chap. i.), is generally ascribed to 814, B.C., that he placed goats before his ensign: "religioseque postea observavit quocunque agmen moveret, ante signa easdem capras habere, cæptorum duces habiturus, quas regni habuerat auc-

tores." The legend of the country being, that he was led by a goat to the sovereignty and the city of Edessa, which, consequently, had its name afterwards changed into *Æge*, or the Goat.

The enumeration of all the localities to which the name of Puck attaches, in different countries of Europe, would exhibit a very long list of mountains, rivers, districts, and places; and it may suffice to restrict my present catalogue, as a specimen, to some of the most prominent, in which the existing traces in our country will naturally claim a prominent share.

The monastic establishment of *Bielbog*,\* in Pomerania, continued in great vigour and veneration to the Reformation; and as it was the papal practice to choose for its ecclesiastical establishments the seats of ancient worship, we may fairly deduce that here previously a fane existed to the heathen good deity; and this the more readily, as it was, I believe, from this convent that a curious unique brazen image of the *Bielbog*, now preserved in the "Vaterländisches Museum," at Berlin, was taken, where it had been fixed as a trophy over the demolished temple in which it had previously been worshipped. It has the figure of a full round-featured human face, with rays surround-

\* Vide *Baltische Studien* (vol. ii. 1stes Heft 1stes Stück), where its ancient state is described as having on an adjoining hill an idol, temple, and statues to the *Bielbog* worshipped by the ancient Slavonians. *Belgard* is a considerable town in the same province; and *Belgrade*, on the Danube, is only a variation in the latter part of the Slavonic *Gorod*, for town, as *Novogorod*, or *Stargard*, in Mecklenburgh, Pommern, &c., answering to our "*Garden*," as inclosure.

ing it completely, and fixed upon a bust, with prominent breasts, but destitute of arms. In the Lausitz, the most famous convent, which still exists, is called *Dobri-luc*, the first part of which word is also Slavonic for good. In the same duchy is a hill still called *Zernibog*, rich in the ancient traditions of the neighbouring peasantry. The Hörter, or Exterensteine, a curious natural conformation of Rock, used certainly for pagan worship, on the Weser, is called by the chroniclers in Latin, *Rupes Picarum*, or *Pocorum*. We have soon to show the identity of *Bog* with *Pug*, the Frog, and *Pogge*; thence, also, with *Padde*, the same animal, and the English *Pad-dock* and *Pede*, or, as some read, *Bede* (*Merry Wives*, act v., sc. 4); and J. P. Collier, in his *Biographical Catalogue of Early English Literature*, vol. ii. p. 389, has a note here: "where's *Bead* spelt *Bede* in the folios, and *Pead* in the quartos." Malone printed the name "*Pedde*," without assigning any reason; and surely he was right, or nearer so, than any of the others; for Mr. Collier's supposition, that the name was chosen to indicate the smallness of the fairy, I think untenable. (*Vide supra*, p. 144, under which phase the names of places are very frequent). *Poggesanien*\* was an ancient division of heathen

\* That the Platt-Deutch use of *Pogge* continued to the seventeenth century, is plain, from the following version of the Fable of the Frogs asking a King, in that dialect, copied from an Hamburgh edition of "*Reynecke Voss*," dated 1660:

"Ich ward andenchen der *Poggen* all  
De eins tho God repen mit grotem schall

Prussia. *Buchonia*, near Fulda, may divide its origin betwixt Book, or Buche (the Beech-tree).

The territory of Buchan, and the family of Buchanan, in Scotland, most probably have the same origin. The German authors who have discussed the history of the branch of this family in Austria, where it became numerous and powerful, write, as a synonym, or explanation, Buch-hain, and say their arms are still the same as those of the Scottish branch; they seem to think that the Continental one left Scotland as early as the year 700, when David Cuming had the entire county Buchan. The modern Pech-larn on the Danube was an old and famous town at the time of the Singer of the Nibelungen Lied, v. 5285.

“Diu venster un den muren, sach man offen stan  
Diu burch ze Bechelaren, diu vvas uf-getan.”

Families, with names derived from Pogge, are *Pogarell*, or *Pogrell*, principally in Silesia, which spread itself thence into Slavonia and Bohemia, and, as early as 550, with Prince Lecho, into Poland.—The *Pogwisch* are principally found as a yore old family in Holstein and Schleswig. In the year 1322, a nobleman of this name lost eight sons in a

Dat he en einen Köninck wolde geven  
Dat se in dwange möchten leven.”

The boys in Scotland have a superstitious feeling respecting the yellow Goldring: and when they see it, exclaim, in reference to its mysterious nature:—

“Half a puddock, half a toad,  
Half a drap o’ deil’s blude,  
On a May morning.”

—From “*Chambers’s Edinburgh Cyclopædia.*”

battle with the inhabitants of the Ditmarschen, and was himself sorely wounded. In Steiermark we have the *Pogner*. The traces are frequent in Italy: the *Poggios* have given many names to literature, and either received or impressed their very general denomination on hills, and on a town of the same name in *Poggibonzi*, on the Florentine territory; nor is it too forced to derive from the primitive root their Pucci Puccinelli, our Polchinello, corrupted now into Punch, who, in the round of ages, represents many of the wild freaks and merry jests of our ancient Puch.

My opportunities of searching for vestiges of ancient veneration for this deity in England have been greater and, therefore, perhaps more successful. In Berkshire they are interesting, as the following extract from *Bibliotheca Topograph. Brit.* xvi. p. 65, will prove:—"Manor of Woolley, in Chuddeleworth Parish. There is a ruined monastery in the south-eastern corner of the parish, commonly called Poughley, pronounced Porfly, the true name they say is Pog-hill: in Carey's Map, Pogley. There is part still standing, it belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in consequence of which they have the rectorial tithes, and the presentation to the vicarage." *Great Caxwell, Ibid.* No. xiii. p. 15, *ex MS. in Bibl. Bal.*—"Matilda de Glovernia Priorissa eccl. conv. de Littlemore tenementum, quod tenuit Matilda de Trog-Puce in Samford. In carta protremo citata occ' Walter de Trog-Puce." We have in the same work notice of one of the charters of Poughhele, with the seal and inscription, sigil. *Wilhelmi Prioris de*



*Poghele*. Padwick lanes, an old high road, are in the immediate neighbourhood; and we find in the adjoining county of Bedfordshire, Puddington, Patton and Potgrave. Berkshire gives us also that fine remnant of yore antiquity, the Pusey Horn. In Atkins' Gloucestershire we meet with a Dennis of *Pucklehurst*.

After the above paragraph was written, I have been referred, by the kindness of M. A. Lower, Esq., of Lewes, to the very curious work of Jabez Allies, Esq., on *Ignis Fatuus* (London, 1846, 8vo.), in which I find my researches for evidences of Puch localities in England anticipated, and more successful, though the author has principally confined himself to Worcestershire and the neighbouring counties. It gives me great pleasure to find my idea, that all these names are traceable to our fairy mythology, confirmed by such excellent authority. At p. 7, he says: "The peasantry in Alfrick are sometimes what they call *Poake-ledden*; that is, they are occasionally way-laid in the night by a mischievous sprite, who leads them into ditches, bogs, pools, and other such scrapes, and then sets up a loud laugh, and leaves them quite bewildered in the lurch." For the full enumeration of all these Puch names, I must refer the reader to the work itself; but I may mention, that he finds three of them in Staffordshire; seven in Gloucestershire (including those mentioned by myself); four in Herefordshire; and one in each of the counties of Warwickshire, Hertfordshire, and Somerset. Those quoted subsequently, from Mr. C. Landseer, in the Isle of Wight, are also

mentioned; with the Cwn Pwcca in Wales, now translated Devil's Bridge; and the Celts will have much difficulty in explaining away this proof of true Saxon belief in, most probably, their earliest dialect. Tribes having the same gods cannot be so totally distinct as it is now the fashion to affirm of English and Irish.

It may offend a large number of aspirants to the dignity of plush and the shoulder-knot, perhaps also many female admirers of sentimental novels, to hear it, but the truth must be told, that *Pages* and *Frogs* have the same origin. Horne Tooke, *επεα πτεροεντα*, ii. 369, 370, classes together *Pack*, *patch*, and *page*, "as the past participle *pac* (differently pronounced, and therefore written with *k*, *ch*, or *ge*), of the Anglo-Saxon verb, *Paecan*, *Paeccean*, to deceive by false pretences." As servants were conspicuously called Harlot, Varlet, Valet, and Knave, so they were called Pack, Patch, and Page; and from the same source is the French Page, the Italian Paggio (and the German Pogge). Agreeing, however, with the learned expositor of our prepositions and conjunctions, &c., in the concurrent signification of pack, patch, and page, it must be still on differing data, and mine will point to a less offensive genealogy. From an excellent article in the *Athenæum*, in May, 1850, entitled, "Notes on Fools," are some curious facts and remarks on the court fools of the kings of England, in which we find the remark: "The name *Patch*,\* applied to the court fool and

\* Mr. J. P. Collier, Introduction, &c., p. 38, enumerates, from an old song, called "*Robin Goodfellow, and his mad*

to Wolsey's fool, about this time, seems to have been more a generic name than that of any individual;" and in the same essay we may almost trace, in a retrograde movement, the steps by which the name diverged from its old form of Puch: thus Henry the Seventh had a fool called *Peche*, who was required occasionally to superintend the court entertainments; but this, even like Patch, may have been a generic name. We have then William Picolf\* (Puch-eilf), to whom King John granted some land, on condition of performing fool's service. The *Berdic*, who is mentioned in Doomsday as "joculator regis," will be identified with another phase of the universal deity, the Berstucs—so *Page* will be identified with *Pog*, still the familiar of every Mecklenburgh and Pomeranian skipper, without which he never undertakes a voyage—in this like a lady's page, who is, or ought to be, ever at her side.

*Pranks and merry Jest*s," from an unique copy in the Bridgewater Library, republished by the Percy Society, a lot of fairy names:—

"Pinch and *Patch*, Grim and Gull,  
Sib and Tib, Lick and Lull,"

which would have afforded the anonymous author a very satisfactory confirmation of his opinion. Vide the remarks on the names of Puch and Patch, by Jabez Allies, p. 19.

\* Picol was, in heathen Prussia, the God of Darkness, and, with Percunnos and Protrimpos, formed their indigenous trinity. This name calls to mind Picus, the successor of Saturn, the first king of Italy—and the Peucini, one of its oldest tribes. Butzow, in Mecklenburgh, has Peucinum for its Latin name; and a thousand other conformities might be clustered round the root.

In the Isle of Wight are two places, called Puck's Pool and Puckaster's Cove, concerning which I borrow from Crofton Croker's Introduction to the third volume of his *Fairy Tales*, the following remarks of Mr. C. Landseer, as they chime in, at least, with my opinion of such names, taking their designations from Puck much anterior to Shakespeare :—

“When I visited this fairy spot,” continues Mr. Landseer, “and recollecting how large a portion of Shakespeare's life there is of which nothing is known, and reflecting how impossible it is to suppose that any portion of his life could have been inactively spent, my fancy was quite ready to fill part of the hiatus with a supposition that our great bard was, some time during the period, rambling with strolling players; and that, in the course of those rambles, he had visited the Isle of Wight, and gathered there some of his fairy lore.”

The source of Shakespeare's fanciful and fairy embodiments was, perhaps, much more distant; but of that at some other period.

For, whatever may have been the earliest creed of our ancestors, and how much soever it remained as an under-current of superstition, when the Christian religion had obtained the mastery, the *name* of Puch as a goblin seems to have vanished from the mouths and minds of the people, till Shakespeare's unequalled creation again gave life and currency to the word, and infused by the brilliancy of his colouring, and the vigour of his sketch, almost an equal brightness and spirit into the verses of his followers; for it gave rise to the beautiful *Nymphydia* of Drayton,

the learned verses of Ben Jonson, the polished couplets of Herrick, &c. &c. Much to a similar purport will be found admirably told in Halliwell's Introduction to M. S. N. D. ; and it seems to me that this revival of the name is partly reduced to an allegory at p. 121, under the title of "Long Tayles," where a child's, or Robin Goodfellow's name, has been forgotten by its godmothers ; and where, at p. 124, the knowledge of the real name is partly admitted ; but Puck's was not fully known till Shakespeare reproduced it, from a very unexpected and little surmised source. I perfectly, therefore, agree with Mr. Halliwell, in his edition of *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 499 ; but include Puck among the "jolie compaignie," which, "however, did not consist of the little dancers on the green. These were a later introduction. Spenser was contented with the fairies of romance, but Shakespeare founded his elfin world on the prettiest of the people's traditions, and has clothed it in the ever-living flowers of his own exuberant fancy. How much is the invention of the poet we shall, perhaps, never be informed ; and his successors have not rendered the subject more clear by adopting the graceful imagery he has created, as though it had been interwoven with the popular mythology, and formed part of it."

How long Puck superstitions remained, even in the Catholic Church, and how much they were afterwards forgotten, we may learn from a curious paper already mentioned, and contributed to the Winchester book of the British Archæological

Association, p. 53, by Mr. John Richard Walbran, on the crypt in Ripon cathedral, called Wilfrid's Needle: "It was usual, in the middle ages, to dignify places and objects with sainted names, with which they had no original or direct connexion. Thus, to quote an illustration from the magical practices of our canons, I have discovered that they possessed, even at the Reformation, and used liberally too, a mysterious 'birnyng iron,' and a still more indescribable article, called the POK-stone of St. Wilfred."\*

In Suffolk, the vestiges of Puck's early presence are pretty clear, as the following extract from T. Burrel's diary, in *Sussex Archæological Society*, vol. iii. p. 125, may serve to show:—"There are many farms and closes in Sussex which owe their names to having been the reputed haunts of fairies—such as Pookryde, Pook-

\* I recall the reader's attention to this passage, that I may mention the representations of a very curious carving in stone from the same work, p. 440, found in altering the old church at Bishop Wearmouth, a remnant of the monastic residence of the Venerable Bede. The carving has many tendencies to heathen worship, and no possible allusion to Christianity. The wheel, yule, or juel, round which figures and monsters are grouped; the serpents, and the naked figures in combat or junction with them, speak all so strongly of the Sagas of the Edda, and have such a remarkable resemblance to the figures on the two Cimbric golden horns found near Tondern, and formerly the greatest ornament of the national museum at Copenhagen, that I have no hesitation in referring both to the same mythology. It is more than probable that this stone was part of a heathen temple, destroyed to make way for the Christian Cœnobium, and therefore, perhaps, the oldest sculptured stone in this kingdom.

bourne, Pook-hole, Pook-craft. The sharpened end of the seed-vessel of the wild geranium, called by the common people Pook-needle, probably meant Fairy's needle." In Devonshire, the Pucky Stone is a rock above Teignmouth, near Chadworth, where the Pixies are called *Derries*—possibly a corruption of the high German *zwerg*, or its low equivalent, *derg*. For Cornwall we have an amusing story of the Piskies, a Cornish legend, in *Ainsworth's Journal* for 1850, No. 88, p. 40. In *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 28, 1850, p. 509, one equally so, anent a luckless wight's adventures with the Padrig fairies in the bishopric of Durham, more than two centuries ago.

Since the above names were collected, my attention has been drawn by my friend, M. Antony Lower, Esq., of Lewes, so well known by his works on nomenclatures, to the very careful and curious volume of Jabez Allies, *On Ignis Fatuus, Will-o'-the-Wisp, and the Fairies* (Lond. 1846, 8vo.). On this subject his industry far exceeds mine. He has collected, and enumerates, thirty-four places (some of them the same as those mentioned) named after Puck or Tuck, which he considers synonymous (the Friar Tuck of the Robin Hood Tales would bear him out). Of these he finds three in Staffordshire, seven in Gloucestershire (the author's own county), four in Herefordshire, one each in Warwick, Hertford, and Somerset, &c. &c.; and he cites Mrs. S. C. Hall's *Travels in Ireland*, that Pouke, or Pooka, there signifies, literally, "the Evil One;" and *Puc* means the Goat, &c. Also

F. C. Lukis, from the *Archæological Journal*, p. 144, says of the names "*Pougue*," and *laye*, or *lei*, as occurring in those (Channel) Islands, meaning the place of the Fairies." *Laye*, or *Lye*, is found on the Rhine, also, as the Nymph of the Rock, *Leirlei*, famed for its echo and traditions. So in *Allies*, p. 19, the variations of Pucket and Pixse are noticed; and Tom Thumb is truly noted as the *Däumling* of the Germans and Scandinavians, a regular dwarf, or *duergar*: "a small person is, in way of ridicule, called *deirgie* in these parts (Worcester)."

The following instances from Jersey may serve to conclude these *Puch* reminiscences in Britain, which I adduce the more readily, as they may also serve to connect our lively sprite with France, where I have been able to discover no other verbal reminiscences of his existence. I quote from Herbert's *Cyclops Christianus*, an author well acquainted with the island, at p. 115: "So in Jersey, all the meglethic works are, or in Folle's time were, called *des Poque-laces*, or *lapides Poqui*.—Ph. Folle's *Cesarea*, cap. vii. p. 256. They were considered as the Stones of the Puck, Puke, or Helle Powke."

Whether the present Essay will have any effect on our commentators on Shakespeare, or on our painters and sculptors in their representations of this frolicsome deity, I know not. I think figures of this Puck should have always something of the romantic and sublime: if considered as a pagan divinity, something commanding and beneficent; if after the spread of Christianity, "nothing less than





archangel ruined." For the latter period an odd statuette may be named, as figured in the *Illustrated News*, July 7th, 1849, which has, quite in keeping, a frog beneath his feet, copied from the figure exhibited by Mr. J. G. Lough, in the south transept of the Great Exhibition, No. 3, only that a too great dash of the boor mixes with the stern sensibility of the deity. I am indebted for the loan of the beautiful engraving of this figure on the opposite page, to the kindness of the proprietors of that interesting and adorned weekly periodical. The engraving which succeeds it has been kindly lent me by the proprietors of the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, attached to the *Art Journal*. It is a beautifully-modelled group of Puck, left unexecuted by the late Mr. Pitts, but finished by his son, and brought out by Messrs. Rose and Co., of the Coalbrook Dale Works, in that species of porcelain technically, but absurdly, termed parian.

We have here certainly nothing of the real mythological character of this elf, if we except some traits of an eastern juvenile Bacchus, of whom the artist would have no idea, and therefore accidental; but the inferior group of sprites dancing in a ring are accompaniments of Robin Goodfellow from the first dawn of graphic embellishments, and their more perfect form and action here may be favourably compared with the rude choir on the block at p. 156.

Though Mr. J. P. Collier, in his *Biographical Catalogue of Ancient English Literature*, intimates his belief, from Tarlton's expression in his *News*

*out of Purgatory*, 1590, that Robin Goodfellow "was famed in every old woman's chronicle," yet the inference we must then draw seems to be that the name of Puck, as appropriated to a special elf, was then unknown, and only revived by



Shakespeare; for though the curious woodcut has every rough feature that a rude draughtsman would furnish for Puck, the name of Hobgoblin is still retained. It is true we have earlier mention of a *Powke*, or *Pouke*. The first notice of a Puck which I find in the English language is the metrical romance of *Cœur de Lion*, Ellis, *Met. Rom.*, by Halliwell, p. 291.

Sir Fulk, unable to reconcile the strength and bravery of the white knight with such strange conduct, firmly believed him to be some preternatural personage.

“‘Y-wis, Sire King,” quoth Sir Fouk,  
‘I ween that Knight was a Pouk.’”

Ellis, in his Introduction, speaking of it as a translation from the French, says, *ibid.* p. 282, “Indeed there are strong reasons for believing that the first French original, and even the earliest English version, contained an authentic history of Richard’s reign, compiled from contemporary documents; although that history was afterwards enlarged and disfigured by numerous and most absurd interpolations.” But such interpolations could have been the gradual work of time, and argue a high antiquity, perhaps contemporary with the lion-hearted sovereign.

In the vision of *Piers Plowman* we have the second mention of the word, when in this poem the Seer beholds Abraham, the personification, with his

“Wyde clothes, within which lay a Lazar,\*  
Wyth patriarkes and prophetes playing to gedres;”

\* Vide Keightley’s *Fairy Tales*, vol. ii. p. 119.

and asks him what was there :

“ Loo, quath he, and leet me see lord mercy ich seide  
Hit is precious present, quath he, ac the pouke hit hath  
attachede

And me ther wyth, quath he wye, may no wed ous quite,  
Ne no berne be our boghe, ne bring ous out of daunger  
Fro the *poukes* pondfolde, ne maynpryse may ous fetche,  
Till he come that ich carpe of, Christ is his name,  
That shall delyvery ous some day oute of the develes  
powere.”

Golding, in his translation of Ovid, unequivocally uses the word pouke for the devil :

“ The country where Chimœra, that same pooke  
With goatish body, lion’s head and breast, and dragon’s  
tail.”

But in the following allusion of Spenser, the approximation to Shakespeare’s noisy, mischievous, but cheerful Puck, is nearer :

“ Ne let housefires nor lightnings helpless harms ;  
Ne let the *pouke*, nor other evil sprites,  
Ne let mischievous witches with their charms ;  
Ne let *hob-goblins*, names whose sense we see not,  
Fray us with things that be not.”

*Epithalamion.*

We have also mention in another passage of the same writer, from *The Scourge of Venus* :

“ And that they may perceive the Heaven’s frown,  
The powkes and goblins pull the coverings down.”

*Scourge of Venus.*

Though I cannot perceive the strong distinction seen here by Keightley ; on the contrary, the conjunction is copulative. It is plain, however, that none of these authors here adduced, and,

therefore, most probably English Folks-lore generally, had but very imperfect and immature ideas on the nature, attributes, and action of our favourite sprite, till Shakespeare created the wondrous birth; and so excellent was the formation, so beautiful and various the play of colour and refraction, that his contemporaries and successors seized the new fairy world he had produced, to revel in with almost equal powers of invention and fancy. It will be for future inquiry, if our immortal bard received a fillip to his fancy from foreign aid, until his time unknown and unheeded by his countrymen.

At page 2, is an extract from a Shakesperian commentator unknown to me, which would bear me out in this assertion, if confined to Puch as an individual sprite; the earlier poukes being merely generic.

To Shakespeare, as the remodeller, and almost the inventor, of our fairy system, may with the utmost propriety be addressed the elegant compliment which Browne has paid to Occleve:

“ Many times he hath been seene  
 With the fairies on the greene ;  
 And to them his pipe did sound,  
 As they danced in a round :  
 Mickle solace would they make him,  
 And at midnight often wake him,  
 And convey him from his roome  
 To a field of yellow broome,  
 Or into the meadows where  
 Mints perfume the gentle aire ;  
 And where Flora spreads her treasure.  
 There they would begin their measure.

If it chanced night's sable shrouds  
 Muffled Cynthia up in clouds,  
 Safely home they then would see him,  
 And from brakes and quagmires free him.  
 They are few such swaines as he,  
 Now-a-days, for harmonie:"

See *Shepherd's Pipe*, eclogue i., *Chalmers' English Poets*, vol. vi. p. 315, col. ii. Vide Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times*, ii. 348.

The accompanying woodcut, from a unique copy of the *Robin Goodfellow, his Mad Pranks and Merry Jests*, in the Egerton Library (vide a *Catalogue, Biographical and Critical, of Early English Literature, &c.* London, 1837, 4to.),



is found at page 257, and seems the earliest *pictorial* attempt to embody the form and symbols of Puck under his earlier denomination. Mr. Collier says: "And much hesitation cannot be felt in deciding that this tract was in print before the death of that most-applauded actor" (Tarlton.) But surely it is not necessary to suppose that these "mad pranks" necessarily preceded Shakespeare's *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, because in 1588 we find a passage in a work stating the popularity of the stories relating to Robin Goodfellow; perhaps the converse of the proposition is more tenable. *Robin Goodfellow and his Pranks* was a general favourite; Shakespeare seized the rough materials, and made therefrom a perfectly new and artistic edifice, which took even more than the prototype with the people, and thence descriptions and pictures were multiplied in a much greater proportion than before. The Egerton copy of 1628 is unique, and a subsequent impression in 1639 exists also in a single copy, so that the presumption is, the great demand and earnest "thumbing" of its readers will have destroyed all the rest. But the wood-cut remained a favourite, and is found frequently on subsequent ballads and broadsides, wherever it was thought suitable. In the collection of ballads from the Roxburgh Library, now in the British Museum, we have this block in vol. i. No. 230; in a *Messe of Good Fellows*, No. 260; also in vol. ii. No. 145 and 531; in vol. iii. 183; and possibly in others. Exactly the same subject, with very trifling variations, is found there, in



a collection of Ballads and Scraps, made by Bagford, in three volumes, on the second column of a broadside, No.  $\frac{643, m. 10}{118}$  on which is printed the ballad, *Mad Merry Pranks of Robin Goodfellow*, ascribed by Peck to Ben Jonson, though not included in Chalmers' edition of his works. This original has many variations from the text published by Mr. Halliwell, in his edition of *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 509. The hunting horn, the besom on the shoulder, the horns and cloven feet of the goat, and his hairy loins, all correspond with the continental legends: the only variable or doubtful symbol is the torch carried in the right hand, which, with the owl flying on the left, may be intended to denote that the night was the most favoured time of his appearance. Mr. Halliwell, in his reprint of this scarce tract, has of course prefixed to it a copy of this cut. I have also met with the same representation on the frontispiece of a small quarto, entitled, "*Hell broke Loose*," with the *Colophon*, "printed for Charles Gustavus, MDCLV.;" and, viewed with a printer's eye, this seems an impression from the identical block used in the ballads. This book would, therefore, give at least an approximative concluding date to their production.

But, perhaps, still more curious and important are other popular representations of Puck, the Man in the Moon, &c., which are on other broadsides in this curious collection by Bagford. The first, A, on the following page, and the second, B, at p. 164, are found at the top of the first and third columns of a broadside, on the second of

which is the woodcut referred to in the last paragraph, of Robin with the besom. These two seem to me full as curious as the one edited by Mr. Collier, and of sufficient importance to be considered more at large. Figure A is, in all its associations, completely mythic; the party-coloured black and white limbs and body, the numerous figures of suns on the light parts, and moons on those that are dark; the two large feathers project-

Fig. A.



ing from each temple, and the ancient javelin, or ger, Gerstang of the Niebelungs Lied, v. 3946:

“Im ragete von dem herzen ein ger-stange lanch ;”

give very prominent differences from all other representations I have seen or read of. A party-coloured dress was once the favourite court fashion, where each limb and body were formed of differently tinted material, according to the fashion of the wearer; very often, however, in the higher aristocracy, in accordance with the principal tinctures of their arms, giving the latter the denomination that they at present retain, of *Coats of Arms*; the reality of which, after descending more especially to the court fools—whence, probably the generic title of Patch, for the early princely appendages (*vide supra*, p. 143)—is now only found in the party-coloured plush or cloth habits of the liveried servants of our aristocracy; and it were to be wished that this adhesion to old customs and heraldic display did not bring about such absurd and tasteless combinations as the servants' halls of our nobility, or the lobbies of either House of Parliament, exhibit. The tabards, as the official dresses of our heralds, may be tolerated, from the infrequency of their appearance, and as archæological evidence of the early usage. For them “mottley's your only wear.”

This dappled figure is not unknown to earliest Scandinavian mythology, but joined in conjunction with such horrible ideas as the frozen north alone could engender for the terrible Hell, or

Hela (vide *Prose Edda*, Bohn's edit., p. 423), the third child of Loki, whom All-fadir cast into Nifheim, and gave her power over nine worlds, into which she distributes all those who are sent to her; that is to say, all those who die through sickness or old age. Here she possesses a habitation, protected by exceedingly high walls and strongly-barred gates. Her hall is called Elvidnir; Hunger is her table; Starvation, her knife; Delay, her man; Slowness, her maid; Precipice, her threshold; Care, her bed; and Burning Anguish forms the hangings of her apartments. *The one-half of her body is livid (or black), the other half the colour of human flesh.*" Milton's alternation of heat and cold for the Hell of his creation, guarded by Sin and Death, is hardly less poetic in conception than this arctic accumulation of the horrible; but more softened was the Etruscan fancy, which contented itself in the depicting of Evil and Good, as we find in the curious frescoes of their tombs, by the simple representation of a black-and-white Genius. In a lower and more prosaic view, the draughtsman of this figure might only wish to designate the alternations of light and darkness, which the moon (with whom the man within her was often confounded) so sensibly offers to the inhabitants of our earth; or, again, to the dark spots and light prominences which have been the proximate cause of the legend (as Grimm, *D. M.*, p. 681, suggests), that besides our existing traditions, there must have been others now lost concerning it:

“Es müssen noch andere Ueberlieferungen

gegeben. Ein niederländischer dichter des 14 Jahrhundert, redet *von den dunkeln streifen* welche stehen :—

‘Recht im midden von der Mane,  
Dat man im deutsche heet Ludegher.’\*’

Of the “*dark streaks*,” the figure before us may be evidence; and the efficacy of a dappled substance as a charm, is the objective view of this quality and must be very old, as we find it in the well-known practice of Jacob (*Genesis xxx. v. 37*), with his peeled rods, to increase his portion of the flock’s increase, at the expense of Laban his father-in-law. The black-and-white streaks with which all public posts and sentry-boxes are disfigured throughout the Prussian dominions, are not retrospective of this superstition, but the accidental acceptance of the colours of the Teutonic order as a legacy, with all the broad provinces of Prussia proper; unless we suppose these priestly warriors to have adopted this combination of contrary colours as those of their conquests.

The above lines, however, quoted by Grimm, with his subsequent remarks, “An einer anderen stette heisst es *Leudegher* und Willems *Messenger de Gand*, i. 195), liest nach einer Handschrift von 1351, ‘dat men deutsch *Lodeger*’; *mir ist keine die-*

\* *Translation*.—“There must have been some other traditions, as a Netherland poet of the fourteenth century speaks of the *dark streaks* which are

‘Right in the middle of the moon,  
Which, in German, are called *Ludegher*.’”

*ser Formeln verständlich*: vielleicht liegt der eigen name Ludger als Liutker (Leodegarius) im Spiel und eine jetzt verschollene Sage des Mittelalters.\* Perhaps this figure might have settled Grimm's doubts, and have given him a glimpse of the lost tradition. I have already stated that the spear borne by the figure in its hand, has for one of its oldest German names the word *Ger*, the Persian *Jerrid*, of which we have traces in our language in *Jerk*, as verb and substantive; and *Jerkin*, or more properly *Ger-falcon*, so called from the arrow-like quickness of its *dart* on its prey. In Ludger we have a near approach to our *load*, the German *Laden*; the AS. *hlade*, which at present signifies only to *burthen*. Adelung, s. v., *laden* (verb), says: "the idea of heaviness is inseparable from it"; but as every carrying implies something felt as heavy, it is not impossible that among the many meanings of this very old word, one more directly denoting bearing, or carrying, may have been lost. Lode-gur would then mean the *Spear-carrier*, exactly in conformity with this figure of Robin; with the Gog and Magog of Guildhall, which are but his colossal representatives; with their Biblical names, and with the wild man of the Prussian arms, with his torn-up pine-tree, which, curiously enough, is also on the same broadside,

\* *Translation*.—At another place we have Leudegher and Willems (*Messenger de Gand*. i. 195), reads from a manuscript of 1351: "Dat men in deutsch, Lodegur." None of the formulas are intelligible to me; perhaps the proper name Ludger, as Liutkar (Leodegarius) may have been here intended, and a now lost myth of the middle ages.

as if explanatory, like a synonym; and to the clearing up of which I now arrive.

On the same broadside, then, we find the following woodcut B, which exactly represents the present supporters of the reigning Prussian royal, and many other princely families in Saxony and north Germany. That a Puch is here intended, can, I think, be little doubted, after the agreement in this particular expressed by Grimm, *D. M.* p. 454 :—“ Der wilde mann mit dem entwürtzelten Baume in der hand wie er bei den wappen mehr-

Fig. B.



erer Fürsten Niederdeutschlands verkommt, stellt auch einen solchen Faun dar: es wäre der Nachforschung werth wann er zuerst angegeben wird. Auch Griutenschmidt im Berge (*D. S.*, i. 232), heisst 'der wilde man.'”\*

Had Grimm made a little further inquiry, he would, I believe, have found that these supporters are a legacy from the family of Bernhard of Anhalt, whose last descendant died in September, 1320; unless, indeed, the Waldemar, who subsequently appeared to reclaim a lost throne and his hereditary provinces, was really the personage he pretended to be—an historical riddle, like those to be solved for nearly every country in Europe; for England, we have Perkin Warbeck; for Portugal, the real or pretended Sebastian; for Russia, their false (?) Demetrius; for France, the Man with the Iron Mask; for Turkey, the brother of Solyman the Great; with other debateable personalities of lesser notoriety. I have not been able, as yet, to meet with v. Ledebur's "*Streifzüge im Gebiete des Preussischen Wappens*, where, possibly, the subject is fully discussed; but when, after nearly one hundred years (in 1417) of agitation and uncertainty, Frederick of Hohenzollern founded the present dynasty and gained the electorate, it was but a decent compliment to the

\* *Translation*.—"The Wild Man (savage) with a fir-tree torn up by the roots in his hand, as he appears in the arms of many lower German princes, represents this Faun. It is worth inquiry when they were first introduced. The Griutenschmidt in the Hill (*German Tales*, i. 232), is also called 'der Wilde Man.'”



ancient gods of the country, and its old Ascanian dynasty, to take these wild figures for the props of their heraldic insignia, the just supporters of their territorial blazon.\*

Their conformity with the woodland deities of antiquity, with the Sylvanus, Faunus, Pan, and Satyrs of the Classics, would prove their identity with Puck. The leafy honours of their head are but the Bush, or Kid, or Faggot of our ballads; and in the sculptures of antiquity (as will be subsequently shown); for the "burthen he beareth" is as often on the head as on the shoulders. The Persian radiated crown, with its spiked points, appears to me to be the best symbolical representation of this chaplet of thorns that could be applied to regal ornament, and was a suitable insignia for a monarch at once priest and king: as the representative of the deity Bog, he wore his thorns: as supreme ruler, the imperial diadem in its earliest purity, merely a plain white fillet encircling the temples. For this reason I look upon the crown of thorns with which a rude and brutal soldiery invested the sacred head of a suffering Saviour, intended not so much for an additional object of pain or martyrdom, as rather to increase the severe irony of the purple robe and the sceptre reed, when "they hailed him King of the Jews," and fell down and worshipped him. *Mark xv. 17—20.*

\* The Ascanian Platz, before the Leipsic Gate, in Berlin, is a tardy, and the only, recognition of their ancient founder and dynasty, which the inhabitants of Spree-Athens have thought proper to establish.

I think it a confirmation of my views of the Prussian supporters, that amongst the other numerous armorial cognisances in Lower Germany, (where they appear as Grimm remarks most frequently), I have met with an example in one of the most ancient families of that part of Fatherland (I mean the Guelfs), by which it is greatly strengthened. In Rehtmier's *Braunschweigsche Chronik*, vol. ii. p. 1109, is the engraving of a curious medal of a wild man with a dog at his feet—an accessory to Robin the least satisfactorily explained, and the rarest graphically exhibited; for the figure to the left of the Bridgewater cut may be either an ape dancing to the piper on the opposite side, or some other animal; and the dog, therefore, in this Brunswick blazon is the more valuable, as it illustrates more especially Shakespeare's two-fold allusion, from the *Tempest*, act ii. sc. 2:—

“*Cal.* Hast thou not dropped from heaven ?

“*Ste.* Out of the moon I do assure thee, I was the man in the moon when time was.

“*Cal.* I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee ; my mistress showed me thee, *thy dog and bush.*”

Also *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act v. sc. 1 :—

“*Moon.* All that I have to say is, to tell you that this lantern is the moon ; this thorn *bush* my thorn *bush*, and *this dog my dog.*”

In Butler's time the learned had become rationalists ; his astrologer had an instrument—

“It would demonstrate that the man in  
The moon's a Sea Mediterranean ;

And that it is *no dog or bitch*  
That stands behind him at his breech."

The legend round this Brunswick medal is in initials, and the various readings which Rehtmier gives sufficiently prove their uncertainty, and the doubt that must hang over any, even specious, solution; a circumstance the more to be regretted, as perhaps some curious allusion to this lunar myth is hidden beneath them.\*

In the same author, p. 954, we have the same wild man with a *candle in his hand*, exactly as in the Bridgewater cut, and in none other do I recollect a similar symbol; but it is a congruity that would remarkably confirm the identity of the Guelfic figure with our wild man. The motto attached seems to have been given when the bearing of the figure had been lost; it expresses the common-place—"Aliis instruendo consumor." †

The figure, however, has taken deep root in the minds of the Teutonic people; there is scarcely a town in Germany of any consequence, from Ham-  
burgh to Basle (Rhine tourists will immediately call to mind L'Homme Sauvage, in the latter city), where one of the principal or oldest inns does not

\* In the *Roxburgh Collection of Ballads*, vol. ii. 358, the same wild man is introduced, to usher in one entitled "**Robin Hood, Will Scadlock, and Little John**," along with these three as *Bowmen*. This will give support to the idea explained in chap. vii. of the mythic character of all our traditions of Robin Hood, Friar Rush, or Tuck, and all their feats "in merrie Sherwood." Grimm, *D. M.* p. 355, had already started this idea, to which I shall there refer also.

† Much to the same purpose will be found farther on, at the explanation of Berstucks.

bear the name and sign of "*Der Wilde Man*;" and close to one of the gates of München a house front was hardly large enough for the colossal fresco of a hermit, whose name of *Onuphrius*, and his rough and hairy appearance, brings him in accordance partly with the classic Aselli, partly with our ragged Puch; but which the Catholic religion, which seizes with avidity objects of ancient veneration on which to build a new structure of faith, has transformed into a frequent and favourite saint. The remaining symbol, the uprooted *Fir Tree*, has such verbal assonance with *Fire*, that on the one side it well represents the *Bridgewater Candle*; on the other, from its cones, it assimilates with the priests of Bacchus, whose favourite insignia, like all the followers of the Eastern God, was the Pine Cone. It should be borne in mind, that our name of *Fir* is but the positive of *First*, its superlative, which, with a phonical identity, is written *Fürst* in German, but there means *prince*. The whole species of *Pinus* and *Abies* seems, from some northern associations, to have received or given terms of command and authority; thus another German name of these trees is *Tanne*, which represents, in the *Tanistry* of Ireland, the powers of the ancient Erse Princes of that distant island.

To revert, however, to the original Wendic denomination. Change of dialect, through a long process of time, and an extended tract of country, has given to this monosyllable Bog a great variety of form, particularly in Mecklenburg and other northern countries of Europe, which sometimes di-

verge provincially to such different animals as have in part divided the veneration of their inhabitants with the Goat. This is particularly the case with the BEAR; but whether its worship was originally coeval with the true Bock, or only a consequence following the name, it would now be difficult to determine. We find still prevalent amongst these northern peasantry the following successive varieties from Bog:—Pog, Peg, Pece, Petze, Bätze,\* Petz, Pet, Pes—the two last of which are now, however, in the language of the Forest, restricted to the wild Bear. Adelung, s. v. Petz: “der Nahme des Bären im gemeinen Leben.”

“Und wo ein Bär den anderen sah  
So hiess es *Petz* ist wieder da.”—HAGEDORN.

As, however, we shall have to refer in a future chapter to Bruin and his fortunes amongst the deified brutes, it may at present suffice to note

\* It seems that this variation of the word or Betze is the parent of our English *Bitch*, and of the French *Biche*, which not only signifies the female of the dog species, but also, as with us, a woman of dissolute character; and is only another proof of the indefinite ideas entertained by our ancestors on most of the subjects of natural history, at least in their nomenclature. It has also been often a subject of inquiry, why Peg, which is one of the above varieties, should be also our familiar appellative for Margaret. It may be ventured as a suggestion, that since the sainted Lady has invariably a dragon for her symbol, which, as a figurative representation of the Devil, would also bear the name of *Peg*, whether symbol and actuality may not have been so confounded in the common mind, as afterwards to be inseparable, and the shorter appellative finally to have gained the ascendancy for every-day use.

this verbal connexion with the Goat, in the cycle of brute idols which influenced the north. The Pece are more particularly described in A. G. Masch's *Gottesdienstlichen Alterthümern der Obotriten*, 4to., Berlin, 1771, p. 31, section 39, describing the "half gods" of the Obotriten (ancient inhabitants of Mecklenburg), he says :\*—"Die Wendischen Halbgötter sind von einer anderen Art. Sie heissen *Berstücn*, *Marco-Peten* und *Coltki*." We shall consider the first name in the next chapter ; the second the author derives, for its latter part, from Peze die Geschäftigkeit, or activity. He proceeds :—"Diese Götter wohnten gern unter den Hollundersträuchen. Man setzte ihnen des Abends Speise hin, dass man sie ins Haus locken möchte, damit sie den Vorrath aus anderen Häusern abholeten und ins Haus ihres Herren eintrügen. Sie gaben ihre Ankunft zu erkennen dass sie von der Speise gegessen oder in der Nacht

\* *Translation*.—"The Wendic half-gods were different. They were called *Berstücn*, *Marco-Peten*, and *Coltki*, and dwelt willingly beneath elder trees. Food was placed for them each evening to entice them into the house, that they might fetch the provisions of the neighbours into their master's dwelling. They signified their presence by having eaten of the food, or else by leaving, during the night, a heap of sticks and dirt, or throwing filth into the milk-bowls. If these dirt-heaps were left untouched, and the master and his household drank of the milk thus defiled, these wayward creatures took it in good part, settled themselves in the house, and did all manner of useful service." These, no doubt, are what Heywood, in his *Hierarchie*, calls (p. 272),—

"Koltri and Kilbalde, such as we  
Pugs and Hobgoblins call."

allerlei Reisig und Unrath zusammentrugen oder die Milchgefässe mit Unreinigkeiten anfülleten. Liess man ihnen jene Haufen ungestöret, speisete auch der Haus-vater mit seinem Haus-gesinde von der verunreinigten Milch; so nahmen diese Art der Götter solches sehr gnädig auf dass sie in das Haus kamen und allerhand nützliche Dienste leisteten."

We have in this description every principal and discriminative feature by which Shakespeare and his followers have painted to us their Puck. The possibility of gaining them over by victuals placed for their use; their thieving propensities in favour of their masters—but another method of expressing the good luck accompanying them; their capricious kindness, and the valuable services they could render,—will all be found in our English stories working out the features and accessories first drawn by Shakespeare.

Milton's beautiful picture (*Allegro*, 105) embraces many features:—

"Tells how the *drudging Goblin* sweat,  
To earn his *cream bowl* duly set,  
When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,  
His *shadowy flail* hath threshed the corn  
That ten day-lab'ers could not end;  
Then lies him down the lubber fiend,  
And, stretched out all the chimney's length,  
Basks at the fire his *hairy* strength,  
And, crop-full, out of door he flings,  
Ere the first cock his matin sings."

Randolph, in his *Amyntas*, has depicted their thieving propensities in poetry that, but for its rhymes, might be thought Augustan:—

“ Nos beati fauni proles,  
 Quibus non est magna moles,  
 Quamvis lunam incolamus,  
 Hortos sæpe frequentamus.

“ Furto cuncta magis bella,  
 Furto dulcior puella,  
 Furto omnia decora,  
 Cum poma deliciora.

“ Cum mortales lecto jacent,  
 Nobis poma noctu placent,  
 Illæ tamen sunt ingrætæ  
 Nisi furto sunt parætæ.”

I have in general supposed a circle of readers to whom translations from Latin would be superfluous ; in giving, therefore, the following English version of these lines, it is more for their beauty and closeness to their original, than for its comprehension, that I add them :—

“ We, the fairies, blithe and antic,  
 Of dimensions not gigantic,  
 Though the moonshine mostly keep us,  
 Oft in orchards frisk and peep us.

“ Stolen sweets are always sweeter,  
 Stolen kisses much completer,  
 Stolen locks are nice in chapels,  
 Stolen, stolen, be your apples.

“ When to bed the world is bobbing,  
 Then's the time for orchard robbing ;  
 Yet the fruit were scarce worth peeling,  
 Were it not for stealing, stealing.”\*

\* Without asserting the absolute derivation of the name of *Robin* from robbing or robber, it may be assumed that the name, when given, was found so apposite to these thiev-



The placing, however, dirt in the rooms and filth in the milk-bowls, might appear diametrically opposed to the cleanly habits of our English "Merry Wanderer of the Night," as Puck chooses to call himself. Herrick says in his *Hesperides*,—

"If ye will with Mab finde grace,  
Set each platter in its place;  
Rake the fire up, and set  
Water in, ere sun be set;  
Wash your pails and cleanse your dairies;  
Sluts are loathsome to the fairies.  
Sweep your house, who doth not so,  
Mab will pinch her by the toe."

And in *Britannia's Pastorals* (p. 41),—

"Where oft the fairy Queen  
At twilight sat, and did command her elves  
To pinch those maids that had not swept their shelves."

As also in Ben Jonson's *Robin Goodfellow*,—

"Where house or hearth doth sluttish lie,  
I pinch the maidens black and blue;  
The bed-clothes from the bed pull I,  
And lay them naked all to view."

This trait may, however, be accounted for as a mad frolic or mischievous prank of the elf, to try the faith of his intended protegés, and the firmness

ing propensities, that it was universally retained. The Dutch and low German *röver* has given us the word rover, which more especially designates Robin's power and propensity to flitting, as Will o' the Wisp, from place to place; but as rover—Sallee rover, pirate—it returns to the primitive signification of robber: German, rauber. In Scotland the fairies are also called the "Restless People."—*Scott's Demonology*, p. 71.

of their credence in his power ; but much similar practice can also be found in our British lore. In *Wright's English Legends of Hobgoblins and Pucks* (Essays, vol. ii. p. 12), "Geraldus tells us many stories of the domestic and playful elves of his native country of Pembroke, where they were very common, and plagued the people *by throwing dirt at them*, and cutting and tearing their garments," &c. Analogous, also, is the practice at the Feast of St. Ferriol, at Marseilles, (*vide Hone's Every Day Book*, p. 1298 :)—"The Butchers also make part of this procession, clothed in long tunics, with a hat *à la Henri IV.*, armed with a hatchet or cleaver. They lead a fat ox, dressed with garlands and ribands, and gilt horns, like the ox at the Carnival (*bœuf gras*) at Paris. His back is covered with a carpet, on which sits a pretty child dressed as John the Baptist. *Every one wishes to have the animal in his house, and it is a prevailing superstition among the people that they shall have good luck throughout the year if this beast leave any trace of his visit, however dirty that may be.*" It would lead us at present too far to consider whether the crowd of Virgil's Harpies (*Æn.*, lib. iii. 209), and his "*Polluit ore dapes,*" may be traced to the same general idea;\* or that

\* Some slight conformity with these *trying* practices may be found in the following extract from the *Life of Robin Goodfellow*, which I copy from *Halliwell's Fairy Mythology*, p. 153, 154, though retributive dirt enters here partly into the idea :—"To walke nightly, as doe the men Fairies, we use not ; but now and then we goe together, and at good huswives fires we warm and dress our fairy children. If we

the belief of the Amsterdam Bawds, that horse shoes, or "horses' dung dropped before the house, and put fresh behind the door, would bring good luck to their houses," (*Halliwel's Brand*, iii. 18), has a similar origin. It may be considered as a feature in the curious chapter of ancient heathen Ippology.\*

Puch himself even officiates as dirt-cleanser—which is but the change from objective to subjective, so frequently found in the views of our ancestors and peasantry on supernatural themes,—when, at the close of the piece, (M. N. D., act v. sc. 2) he says:—

"I am sent with broom before,  
To sweep the dust behind the door."

And from much the same sources of opinion comes the maxim of the *Chemnitzer Rocken Stube*

finde cleane water and cleane towels, we leave them money either in their basins or in their shoes; but if we find no cleane water in their houses, we wash our children in their pottage milke or bere, or whate'er we finde," &c.

\* This popular idea in France, and of the Mecklenburg peasantry, that dung left by the beasts or by the Pece in the milk-bowls at night was acceptable, and a sign of good fortune, appears to corroborate my idea, that all spirits were originally derived from the mines, or mining terms; for *κνπρος*, or copper, is so nearly allied, or rather identical with *κοπρος*, dung, that both must necessarily have been confounded in the common mind. The nodules of native copper must have strengthened the belief, if not have produced it; and when the metal was personified as the Indian Kuversas (*vide* p. 83), it was still linked with the filth which the Indo-Germanic tribes yet acknowledge as part of his benefits.

(a collection of popular maxims and superstitions published in Leipsig, 1712), No. 8:—"Es ist nicht gut wenn man über das Kehrlicht geht."—"It is not good to step over sweepings."

In tracing these Peze farther, we find that in the modern language of the country the name is reduced to its very lowest denomination, as *Puk*; and the following extracts from A. C. Arndt's celebrated collection of *Mährchen*, or popular tales, from the writer's native country on the south shores of the Baltic, will show that the former deity of its inhabitants has, by the revolution of manners and creeds, dwindled now into the mere familiar of our witches and witch-finders of the 15th and 16th century, without, however, having attributed to it the substantive power of inflicting mischief on others, but rather the sole power of acting for either good or evil on the possessor, according to the treatment it receives. This is also the principal feature of the Pucks of our Shakespearian age, though the inimitable archness superadded to this supernatural power seems entirely Shakespeare's own. The original of Arndt's tale is in the *Platt Deutsch* vernacular of his country (vol. ii. p. 63). This gives the relation a vividness and spirit which I fear may have evaporated in the following translation, notwithstanding the endeavour to give all the Doric dress it was capable of. Captain Gau was a native of the Gars (Scottice, Carse)—a district dividing Mecklenburg from Pommern, and the scene of the story is laid in the strait separating Rügen from the latter:—

## SKIPPER GAU AND HIS PUK.

“ You ’ve often heard how plenty of witchcraft and devilry was carried on with cats and goats, and scabby Pogs, and how Old Nick was at the bottom of it, and so cheated the poor benighted people into hell. The skippers have much superstition of this kind, and many such secret practices.

“ I ’ll tell you somewhat that happened with us to a man frae Barth, or frae the Carse in Pierow, that all the folk knew about when I was but a youngster. There lived in Barth the captain of a coaster, that was the luckiest and daringest fellow of all the East Sea, and with whom every-thing prospered. He ventured where no other skipper durst, and he said he could sail with all winds, and, if needs be, against the stream. There was, however, a very good reason why ; but for all Gau’s luck and money I wouldn’t have had a share in the means by which Gau managed it. For folks muttered something about a bright cockchafer, or a green frog in a glass bottle, *and that was a Puk*, that made him his luck and his winds ; and his crew will have seen the strange creature close by when it blew a stiff gale, or the night was parlous dark, (*gefährlich düster* answers exactly to the Yorkshire parlous, for perilous, dark), when it ran along the boom like a tiny bairn in a black jacket and a red cap top o’ the head, and snuffled about everything ; or else like a wee old grey-beard with a wig on as white as chalk, and sat down on the tiller and looked at the stars, and showed the boat the way. The skipper had once gotten into a desperate drinking bout, and after lifting his elbow a little too often and too high, he clean forgot schooner and Puk and all the world besides. He had tiddled two live-long days at Stralsund, and let the poor creature on board starve the whole time, so that it became savage and broke the bottle in which it was kept, and kicked up the deuce of a wind, so that the boat began to draw with every sail, and to drag from both anchors. The folk on the quay and landing-place wondered desperately, for in, close to the town, not a whiff was felt, yet the boat flew round and round, like an old sow that had got too much liquor. Gau tried to pacify it. Yon chap, however, desperately angry at being left to

hunger so long, would be neither cozened nor coaxed. It kept making the storm worse, and more bedlam-like work on board, so that at last ship and skipper went to pieces, and were lost with man and mouse. But I fancy that there are folks yet that take such little devilkins with them to sea.”\*

\* The original is at once a curious specimen of pure German and a test of the accuracy of my translation:—

SCHIFFER GAU UND SIN PUK.

“Ye hewt woll oftermals hürt wo velle Hexerei und Töwerei mit Katten Zegenböcken Heimchen un Schorfpoggen drewen ward und wo de olde Fiend sick darunter steckt und den armen verbiesternden Minschen in de Höll herin spelt.—De Schippers hebben veelen sodhanen Awerglowen, und mennigerhand und heemliche Künste.

“In Barth lewde ein Schipper Henrich Gau dat was de glücklichste und vorwegenste Schipper in der ganzen Ostsee dem ook alles to Faden leep. He understund sich waat kein anner Schipper dörste, und he sede he kunn mit allen Winden segeln, und wenn he wull, ook wedder de Strom. Dat Ding hedd äwerst so sinen egen Haken; und um all dat Gauscke Glück und Geld mugt ick an dem Haken nicht hängen woran Gau fast was. Denn de Lüde munkelnden so was von enem blanken Käwer edder eener grönen Pogg in einem Glase, und dat war sin Puk, de em den Wind und dat Glück machte und de Matrosen wullen dat düwelsche Ding unerwielen sehn hebben wen it steef weehde edder de nacht gefährlich düster was, wot as een lütt winzig Jüneriken in eener swarten Jacke eene rode Mütz up 'm Kopp up dem Schipp herum lief und alles nachsah edder vok een old gris Manniken mit eener kridwitten Parück up dem Kopp dann am Stürroder satt und in Höwen keek und dem Schipp den Weg wisde—he was in ein woist Gelag geraden und se hedden so deep in 't Glass keeken dat Gau Schipp und Puk und de ganse Welt förgatt. So hedd unser Schipper hon utgeslagene dage in Stralsund vördrunken und sine Dinger de he hungern let weren grimig worden, hedden de Gläser terbraken worin se zeten und blosën einen Storm up,

So that in the opinion, at least, of the veteran Arndt, and from his own experience to the commencement of this century, the belief in Puch's power was deeply prevalent among his countrymen; and I have no doubt the same delusions prevail there still, notwithstanding the boasted march of intellect and the increased spread of education in Prussia: perhaps they are now more covertly followed, and less candidly mentioned. I scarcely know, however, if Englishmen can be allowed to cast a stone against them, as long as the British seamen put more value on a child's caul than on perfect seamanship. Halliwell's edition of *Brand*, vol. iii. p. 117, gives us the following recent example, as late as May 8, 1848, in a *Times* advertisement:—"A Child's Caul, price Six Guineas. Apply at the bar of the Tower Shades, corner of Tower Street. The above article, for which fifteen pounds was originally paid, was afloat with its late owner thirty years, in all the perils of a seaman's life, and the owner died at last at the place of his birth."

dat dat Schipp anfang mit allen Segeln to spelen, und sich von allen Ankern losret. De Lüde de up der Brügg und Lastadie stunden vorunderen sick, denn bi de Stadt weehde kaum ein Lüftken wo dat Schipp rumdhuselde as ein Swin dat to veelen Branwins barm supen hedt.—Sin Bürshchen de wegen des langen Hungers to grimmig weren leten sick von em weder locken noch hissen; se makten jümmer gewaltigern Storm und düllere Arbeit un kuselden toletz so arg dat Schipp und Schipper, mit Man und mus, to grund gingen. Awerst ick glöw et giff noch van der art, de ehre lütten Düwelkins in Shachteln und Gläsern mit an Boord nehmen.

The only redeeming feature in this announcement is the rapid decrease in price for such a favoured specimen, from which we may, I hope, feasibly conclude that the number of purchasers is on the decline.

Not a slight confirmation of the connexion of our English Puch with his German namesake is found in the construction of the plural of the denomination, which is pretty generally, through Britain, from Devon to Scotland—*pixies*. The rules of German syntax require that substantives ending in *ch* or *chs*, with *a* or *u* as their vowels, change the latter for their plural by diæresis, into the diphthongs *ü* and *ä*, giving the *u*, to an English ear, the sound of *i*, and for *a* the sound of *e*; thus Lachs (salmon) has for its plural Lächse, pronounced Lexe; and Fuchs, Füchse, pronounced Fixe. Analogous also is the formation of their feminine nouns: the female Fox is Fücksinn, regularly formed from Fuchs by diæresis of the *ü*, and the feminine ending *inn*; thus wölfinn from wolf. In the English language, without referring to the construction of the radical word, we have transferred this Fücksinn to our dictionaries as *vixen*, which is its exact pronunciation as given by a Saxon at Dresden or Leipsig. So, therefore, Puchs has its plural Püchse, phonically Pixe.

I borrow my notices of the use of *Pixies* in this plural, for England, from one of the great storehouses of popular and archaic literature furnished by my friend, Mr. J. O. Halliwell. In his *Popular Rhymes*, p. 190, we find—



“A great variety of stories in which fairies are frightened away by presents, are still to be heard in the rural districts of England. Another narrative relates that, on one occasion, a woman found her washing and ironing regularly performed for her every night by the fairies. In gratitude to the ‘gude people,’ she placed green mantles for their acceptance, and the next night the fairies departed, exclaiming :

‘Now the *Pixies*’ work is done,  
We take our clothes and off we run.’

Mr. Bray tells a similar story of a Devonshire *Pixy*, who helped an old woman to spin. One evening she spied the fairy jumping out of her door, and observed it was very raggedly dressed ; so the next day she thought to win the services of the elf further, by some smart new clothes, as big as those made for a doll, by the side of her wheel. The *Pixy* came, put on the clothes, and, clapping its hands with delight, vanished, saying these lines, for fairies always speak in rhyme :\*

‘*Pixy* fine, *Pixy* gay, *Pixy* now will run away.’”

In Devonshire, for *Pixies*, we have the variation *Pisgies* (vide *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 28, 1850, p. 509). In some parts called *Derricks* (*ibid.* p. 504), which suggests the a. s. *derg*, the German *zwerg*, *werg*, and perhaps the principal word in the oldest burthen of a song in our language, *Heigh derry down*. At all events, we have here a better origin for the common expression, *please the pigs*, from these ancient divinities, equivalent to the Latin, *Si Di volunt*, than by reverting to the Catholic *pix* for a solution, as the expression originated, most probably, before either Catholicism was known, or hosts elevated in *pixes*. Without wishing to cast an unnecessary stigma on their religion, I certainly

\* Mr. Allies mentions a Worcestershire fairy legend, which says, that upon one occasion a *Pixy* came to a ploughman, and exclaimed :

‘Oh, lend me a hammer and a nail,  
Which we want to mend our pail.’

should rather adduce this sacred utensil of their worship, as far as the name goes, from the early sanctity it obtained amongst the religions which Catholicism superseded. As the MS. of this work has been now (Feb. 1852) some months in the printer's hand, it can only be an agreeable coincidence to find the same derivation for this proverbial expression adduced by an anonymous contributor to *Notes and Queries*, Jan. 24th, 1852. For Scotch Pixies, vide Jamieson's *Supplement*, s. v. The *Colpixies* of Hampshire, perhaps better Coal-pixies, are an addition to the mineral sprites already adduced; and some confirmation of this latter opinion may be found in the circumstance, that the fossil belemnites, vulgo thunder-bolts, are termed in Devonshire 'colpixies' (Halliwell's *Brand*, ii. p. 513). "In addition to the colpixy mentioned by Mr. Barnes, the common fossil belemnites are termed 'colpexies' fingers,' and fossil echini 'colpexies' heads.'"

## CHAPTER V.

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“ Written and spoken words are visible and audible thoughts. Words, however, are not only the signs of ideas, but sometimes also the representatives of things, so that etymology may be said to include also many other ‘ologies.’ ”  
—*Lucubrations by the author of “Rejected Addresses.”*

HAVING shown, at p. 56, that the generic name of the Deity God, disguised as Goat, was adopted in England for the Slavonic Bog, or Bock, a reason may seem necessary why we, as Englishmen, should have hidden the true term under a synonym; and why, as the verbal connexion between goat and deity was thus broken, no surviving traces of veneration to the actual goat are found in Britain; for I look upon the weak vestiges of a goat in the annals of our witchcraft as but the faint echoes of its fulness from the original key-note of the Continent. The Portunus and Grant of Gervase of Tilbury are in form of horses and foals. Wright’s *Essays*, ii. p. 14, gives us, from an unedited MS. *Chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall*, the story of one Gobelin, who, at the entreaties of his sweetheart, revealed himself to her visibly, “in specie parvissimi infantis qui

induebatur quadam alba tunica." The name of Mälchin, by which he was known, is pure German, and often at present the domestic denomination of the cat, like our Gri-malkin its derivative, so that the goat feet and hairy form of Puck seem to have been lost or dormant till their revival by Shakespeare.\*

\* The following extract from Dr. Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* bears the usual stamp of the author's great learning and acumen; though, according to my theory, I should place none of the words *God*, *Good*, *Goat*, in the relation of parent or child, but rather as "children of one family," from a root which would, perhaps, have to be found in a deep investigation of the component consonants *g* and *d*, tending to an illustration of all the alphabetic signs of the West, as genuine ideographic characters, *i. e.* TRUE HIEROGLYPHICS.

"GOD. In A. S. God both signifies *God* and *good*; but man is used to denote *man*, and *wickedness*, *sin*. The Saxons call him *God*, which is literally *the good*; the same word signifying both the deity and his most endearing quality.

"GUD. The name of God is justly derived from Good, but not after the usual manner of thinking, because he is *kind* and *beneficent*, but because he is *furiosus* and *destructive*. It is a common error of etymologists to attribute to savages, who composed our words, the ideas of a civilised age. Good and *a-γαθ-ος* are the same word. The first notion of *αγαθος*, is that of being *quick* and *vigorous*. *Αγαθοι ανδροι* are Goths, and *Gotnar* stout men. A coward was called *κακος*. *Απιστος* comes from *απης*, *virtus* from *vis*. When bravery in battle was the first of virtues, and cowardice the meanest of vices, evil and good were indicated by words implying those notions. The intrepid man alone was deemed worthy to be obeyed as a judge or commander. The Persians give a further proof of my assertion, for *choda*, is not only God, but a lord, commander, H."

The cause may have to be searched for in a mystic reverence which attached to the true name of the Deity in many countries, and prevented its pronounciation, perhaps its knowledge, beyond the select circle of a few of the higher priesthood. The obscure and shadowy has always been a source of the sublime and terrible. The Latin maxim, "Quicquid ignotum pro mirifico," is founded in truth and nature. Sir William Jones (*Works*, i. p. 249) says, on this Indian mystery:—

"The triple divinity, *Vishnu, Siva, Brahma*—for that is the order in which they are expressed, by the letters AUM, which coalesce and form the mystical word OM, a word which never escapes the lips of a pious Hindoo, who meditates on it in silence. Whether the Egyptian ON, which is commonly supposed to mean the Sun, be the Sanscrit monosyllable, I leave others to determine."

The awful Jewish tetragrammaton is well known in this respect. To the commonalty it was totally forbidden; to the high priest a rare and solemn licence was permitted at the annual benediction of the people in the Temple. On this subject consult Schedius *de Diis Germanorum*, p. 196:—

"Prima autem hujus nominis reverentia apud Judæos mos, at omnino fere in superstitionem abiit. Plebi sub pœna mortis ejus pronuntiatio vetita fuit: summi sacerdotes illud in templo Hierosolymitano, non alibi et semel duntaxat in anno in solenni illa benedictione populi in festo propitiætionis pronunciarunt."

To the Romans this was inexplicable; and when, therefore, Caius Caligula, in his audience of the Jewish deputation from Alexandria (of

which Philo was the head and the historian), in remarking upon the peculiarities of the Jewish creed, gave profane and impromptu utterance to the sacred sound, this seems to have rankled most in the breasts of the embassy: Caius very probably did not intend a gratuitous and un-called-for insult to a powerful province and a suppliant crowd bending before him, but gave utterance to the sound from mere inadvertence or thoughtlessness.

An offset of this peculiar veneration for a word, and that word the name of a deity, may be found very prominently worked out in the poets and historians of Rome. *Styx* might be pronounced, but, when sworn by, the oath was irrevocable and binding, even upon omnipotent Jove. It has been elsewhere noted, that though a river was usually taken for convenience, the original authority and power was derived from its presiding deity: "*Stygiæ numen aquæ.*" Thus, when (Ovid, *Met.* ii. 101) Apollo says to Phaeton:

"Ne dubita, dabitur; Stygias juravimus undas."

The correspondence of this *Styx* with the *Stuccas* and *Ber-stuccn* of the Wends, and even with the *Man in the Moon*, will be the subject of future inquiry. It is curious that, in its present spelling, the word *Styx* itself is a tetragrammaton, and in full opposition to *Fur*, by the brand of which thieves became *homines trium literarum*.

In India the veneration changes to dread, when the object is terrible and immediate. Montgomery Martin (*Hist. and Antiquities of India*)

says: "When a tiger is heard in the forest at night, a Bengalese will not venture to say, 'that is the roar of a tiger,' as, in the case of *so irreverent a disclosure*, he apprehends that the tiger would instantly rush into his hut and eat him up."

It is, therefore, a wise and natural precaution that silence in general is inculcated on all that visit or view Fairy Land. The Scottish legends enjoin it expressly, as the following quotation, in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (ii. p. 253), from Thomas the Rhymer, proves:—

"If you speak word in Elfin land  
Ye'll ne'er get back to your ain countrie."

More fully expressed in Ben Jonson's *Pranks of Puch*, from the original ballad in the Roxburgh Collection of the British Museum, though not inserted in Percy's copy of it, in his *Relics of British Poetry*:—

"When, as my fellow elves and I  
In circled ring do trip a round,  
If that our sports by any eye  
Do happen to be seen or found;  
If that they  
No words do say,  
But *mumm* continue as they go,  
Each night I do  
Put groat in shoe,  
And wend out, laughing, Ho, Ho, Ho!"

The "*favete linguis*" is the well-known introitus to all the Roman sacrifices, from Hor. (*Odes*, lib. iii. 1), Ovid's *Fasti* (lib. i. 71, 72):—

"Linguisque animisque favete.  
Nunc dicenda bono sunt bona verba die."

A word of ill omen, spoken during the sacrifice to Janus, here alluded to on the Kalends of January, was supposed to influence for evil the whole of the succeeding year.

Some traces of this reverence may be found amongst the Wends, in the circumlocution by which they seem to have veiled the true name of their highest divinity; so that Helmold, in describing their religious tenets, can express himself only by the words *Deus Deorum*, and thence we gain the silence necessary to most charms and incantations; and this established, the *e converso* reasoning followed of course, that noise and clamour were distasteful to the superior powers; and bells, as the noisiest, the most powerful to drive away demons. Another indication is the change of name which a recurrence to the demoniacal practices involved. Jamieson, *sub voce* Warlock, says: "It seems to have been a received opinion in this country (Scotland), that the devil gave all those who entered into his service new names, by which they were to be called in all their nocturnal meetings; and that if any one of them was accidentally designated by his or her proper name, the spell was dissolved (*vide Satan's Invisible World*, p. 24). Whence comes it that each pope, on his accession to the tiara, must take another name, and that the monastic vows require an abnegation of the baptismal patronymic, total and for ever? Silence and secrecy were next transferred to the places of meeting for religious worship; the deep recesses of a thick grove were chosen abodes of all the deities, and



these in preference fixed in islands, which added also security to these other qualifications. It will be found in every theogony, that originally all the most favoured seats of their divinities were inaccessible but by water; the first cradle of Hindoo theology is transmitted down to us, as the mountain island Meru, and the four rivers of Paradise isolated it on every quarter. In Greece the island of Eubœa was the original seat of the twelve great gods of the Cabiri; and in the religions of the North, if no existing historical relations proved the sanctity of Mona, Iona, or Rügen, as they do for the island Sena, on the coast of Brittany, or our nearest colony, Heligoland, answering in almost direct latitude to the holy island of Northumberland, St. Cuthbert's Seat, yet their still-existing monuments would prove to us the ancient prestige of holiness which they so pre-eminently possessed.\*

To this circumlocution we owe, undoubtedly, as the principal synonym of the universal Slavonic deity, our vernacular *Robin Goodfellow*; † amongst

\* The latest publication of Mr. J. G. Squier's *Nicaragua, &c.*, allows me to add the islands in the lake of that name, and the adjoining one of Monagua, as remarkable instances, to those in the text, though for a totally differing creed and hemisphere.

† The English seem conscious that *Robin Goodfellow*, by which name the sprite was distinguished, Halliwell says, "in the thirteenth century," was but a circumlocution, perhaps, of the real ineffable appellative, that, like the tetragrammaton of the Hebrews, was too sacred to be lightly pronounced. I think the following is an allusion to the

the Scotch, as a generic, "*the gude people*" exactly answering to the Greek Eumenides (from *ευμενης*, benevolus); and it is curious that they were served by *silent* priests.\* That they were afterwards looked upon as furies, and gained the unenviable name of Erinnyes, lay in the more subjective views of the Greeks, who, looking solely upon the dark side of man's character, from their

loss of the original denomination, or its restriction to the priesthood (*vide Life of Robin Goodfellow*, Halliwell, p.123):

"In brieft christened hee was, at the which all this good cheare was doubled, which made most of the women so wise, that they forgot to make themselves ready, and none of them next day could remember the child's name but the clarke, and hee may thanke his booke for it, or else it had benee utterly lost."

Would the resuscitation of the name of *Puck* by Shakespeare be a discovery of this lost denomination? or was that only generic, and the secret have to be still farther traced back through Pez and Per, to the Percunus and Percullos of the Wends? I think it must. That Robin Goodfellow was not the right name seems also intimated at page 126:—

"Doe thus, and all the world shall know  
The pranks of Robin Goodfellow;  
For by that name thou call'd shalt be,  
To ages' late posterity."

The "*gude people*" of Scotland are a similar circumlocution to what we find all the myths of antiquity; it is dangerous and forbidden to inquire the names and abodes of the heroes. The Knight of the Swan at Cleves and Nymwegen takes his departure the moment his wife, who has borne him three children, inquires whence he came, and he returns no more.

\* "*Sola fuerint Eumenidum sacrificia quem illum precipuum ritum habuerunt ut a tacitis sacerdotibus agerentur.*"—*Natalis Comes. Mythol.* p. 20.

own propensity to the grave and severe and their aversion to all noisy hilarity, clothed our merry Puck with all the attributes of a troubled and angry consciousness of evil.\* I know of only one instance in which our ancestors have found sufficient fault with his mad pranks to give him an ill name. In a tract by Samuel Rowlands, entitled, "*More Knaves yet; the Knaves of Spades and Diamonds.*" reprinted by the Percy Society, is the following passage of "ghosts and goblins," in which we meet with a *Robin Bad-fellow* :—

" 'Twas a mad Robin that did divers pranckes,  
 For which with some good cheare they gave him thankes,  
 And that was all the kindness he expected ;  
 With gaine (it seems) he was not much infected.  
 But as that time is past, that Robin's gone,  
 He and his night-mates are to us unknowne ;  
 And in the steed of such Good-fellow sprites  
 We meet with *Robin Badfellow* a-nights,  
 That enters houses secret in the darke,  
 And only comes to pilfer, steal, and sharke ;  
 And as the one made dishes cleane (they say),  
 The other takes them quite and cleane away.  
 Whate'er it be that is within his reache,  
 Tho filching tricke he doth his fingers teache.  
 But as Goodfellow Robin had reward  
 With milke and creame that friends for him prepared ;  
 For being busy all the night in vaine,  
 (Though in the morning all things safe remaine),

\* *Natalis Comes.* p. 266, tells us that this epithet of Goodfellow, is also especially applied to Bacchus, the lineal ancestor or descendant of our Puck :—"Mos fuit apud antiquos ut Bacchi, datoris lætitiæ, quem bonum *Dæmonem* appellabant, poculum extremum postcænam remotis mensibus circumferetur."

*Robin Badfellow*, wanting such a supper,  
 Shall have his breakfast with a rope and butter,  
 To which let all his fellows be invited,  
 That with such deeds of darkness are delighted."

HALLIWELL'S *Brand*, vol. ii. p. 514.

So that, after all, in the worst view taken of his character, but a few petty thefts can be laid to his charge; not, as amongst the severe Greeks, even when puritanism began to run rampant through our land, do we find him in all those "Gorgon terrors clad" with which Sophocles and Euripides invest his classic namesakes, in their embodiment of the guilty conscience of Orestes the matricide. But from the latter author we have another striking conformity of the furies with our fairies, in their fondness for milk, and the oblations of it which were brought them. In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ii. p. 318, is the following passage:—"At Argos (as is evident from the words addressed to them by Clytemnestra's ghost), these infernal powers (Eumenides) received worship, and for their use a table was spread at night:

"Oft have ye tasted  
 My temperate offerings, mix'd with fragrant honey,  
 Grateful libations; oft the hallowed feast  
 Around my hearth, at midnight's solemn hour,  
 When not a god shar'd in your rites."

Collier's *Introduction to Shakespeare*, vol. ii. p. 480, tells us a "coarse character, under the name of Robin Goodfellow, is introduced into the play of *Wily Beguiled*, the first edition of which

must have been acted perhaps ten years earlier than 1606, in which year it is dated."

As my principal intention in the present work has been to bring the ideas which the classic authors have transmitted to us, into juxtaposition with those entertained by our own countrymen, this may be the proper place to set side by side the enumeration of the Scandinavian deities by Saxo Grammaticus, with a somewhat similar list left us by Lucretius. Saxo is describing a nocturnal apparition to Schwanhuita, lib. ii. p. 22 (Edit. Stephanus):—

“Trux lemurum chorus advehitur præcepsque per auras  
 Cursitat et vastos edit ad astra sonos.  
 Accedunt fauni satyris, Panumque caterva  
 Manibus admixta, militat ore fero.  
 Sylvanis coeunt aquili larvæque nocentes  
 Cum Lamiis callem participare student.  
 Saltu librantur furiaë, glomerantur eisdem  
 Larvæ, quas Simis Fantua juncta premit.”

The enumeration by the Epicurean is shorter, but his language more beautiful:—

“Hoc loca capripedes satyros, nymphasque tenere  
 Finitum pingunt et faunos esse loquuntur ;  
 Quorum noctivago strepitu ludoque jocanti  
 Adfirmant volgo taciturna silentia rumpi  
 Chordarumque sonas fieri, dulceisque querelas  
 Tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentem.”

Stephanus, the editor of Saxo, justly complains that his author's classical aspirations prevented his giving the indigenous names of the different kinds of spirits which he has clothed in these Latin disguises; and in Olaus Magnus (lib. iii.

p. 107) we remark the same perversity of talent, who also enumerates the Danish goblins of his day, as

“Lemures, Faunos, Satyros, Larvas, Aquilos, Striges, Lamias, Manes, Panumque catervas ;”

Here we have, perhaps, more reason for vexation, as he wrote from prose.

In pursuing this parallel, we may give the following enumeration of British hobgoblins, in 1655, from Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* (p. 85) :—

“In our childhood, our mother's maids have so terrified us with an ugly devil, having horns on his head, fire in his mouth, and a tail in his breech, eyes like a (barber's) basin, fangs like a dog, claws like a bear, a skin like a niger, and a voyce roaring like a lyon, whereby we start and are afraid when we hear one cry *Bough*.” He adds : “And they have so frayed us with bul-beggars, spirits, witches, urchins, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens (*sic*), Kit with the canstick, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, gyants, imps, calcars, conjurors, nymphes, changelings, incubus, Robin Goodfellow, the sporn, the mare, the man in the oak, the hell wain, the fire drake, the puckle, Tom Thumb, hobgoblin, Tom Tumbler, Boneless, and *such other bugs*, that we are afraid of our own shadowes.”

Of our other denominations or circumlocutions of Puck—such as Hobgoblins, Perriwiggin, Tomalin, &c. &c., shown in Poole's *Parnassus* (Halliwell's *Brand*, ii. p. 499), &c. &c., there can be here no necessity to speak. The only one requiring or permitting elucidation, is Milton's *Lubber Fiend*, as the name stands isolated, and without any illustrative associations. *Lubber* seems rather its derivative than its root; and

there are curious assonances in Platt Deutsch, as *Lopen*, to run, which would approximate more to the Will-o'-the-Wispe than to Jonson's "idle, fat bulky losel;" and *Lob*, in high German, is praise; but neither suits exactly: *Lobe* (from Gr. *Λοβος*), with *Globe*, in the form of prominences, seem nearer, and would be borne out, in part, by a curious custom which formerly prevailed at Halberstadt, where was a large flat granite altar in the cathedral-close before the west door. Grimm (*D. S.* p. 276) calls it the *Lugen Stein*; more probably *Luggenstein*, as in English the *Lug* is also the lobe of the ear, and *Luggage* a man's personal bulky effects. On it every Whit-Sunday another stone was placed, which the canons of the cathedral severally attacked and beat till it was thrown off the *Lubbenstone*, and which was generally supposed to typify symbolically the triumph of Christianity over the indigenous deity, this *Lubbe*, or *Lob*; for that such a one existed anciently in that immediate vicinity, an undoubted and very large Druidical circle, still intact, in the neighbourhood, the *Lubbenstone* near Helmstadt, sufficiently proves. It was described by Conringius, the famous rector of the Helmstadt University, and a poor print may be found of it in Eccard, "*De Origine Germanorum*" (Gotting. 1750), tab. vii., who, p. 84, describes it rather meagrely, from ocular inspection, as follows: "Triplici lapidum majorum circulo constitit. Maximi omnium medium tenent locum, quibus quatuor ingentia saxa superincumbunt, stupendo labore. Versus viam publicam

aliquot alios tumulos partem disjectos adsitos habet. In uno eorum, Vir summe reverendus D. J. And. Schmidius Abbas Marienthalensis et SS. Theol. in Acad. Julia Professor carbones et ossa equina invenit." In the neighbouring cathedral of Hildesheim, this ceremony of deposing this Lubben was more formally conducted (Grimm, *D.M.* p.173). "Amongst the remarkable payments here (in Hildesheim) was the *Jupiter money*, which continued to our own time. The village of Grossen Algermissen had to pay yearly nineteen dollars and four gulden, under this denomination, to the sexton. A principal Algermissen peasant had to bring yearly an octangular log of wood, four feet high, to the cathedral-close in a sack, which the choir boys clothed in mantle and crown; and then they attacked this so-called Jupiter with stones, first on one side, then on another, and at last burnt it. This Folk's feast, being accompanied by frequent riots, was often forbidden; but when the royal exchequer relinquished the Jupiter money the practice ceased" (see Lüntzel's *Bäuerliche Lust in Hildesheim*, 1830, p. 205). In the *Hanövers. Magazine*, 1833, p. 698, are the protocols of 1742, 1743, on the stoning of this Jupiter. The period of the year when this took place is not mentioned, but may perhaps be gathered from the following note to p. 172: "The *Hildesheim Register*, of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century, says: 'Die *abgötter* so nun abends vor Lætare von einem Hausman von Algermissen gesetzt, davor im eine Hufe Landes gehört, und wie solches von dem Hausman nicht



gesetzt worden gehört Cantori de Hove Landes Hanöv. Landes blätter, 1832, p. 30). "Of the *Idol*, which a cottager of Algermissen has to place, on the eve of Lætare Sunday (three Sundays preceding Easter), for which service he holds a hoof of land; and if this log is not delivered by the cotter, the land reverts to the cantor for the time being." It is evident that Jupiter here means heathendom in general; and the concurrent testimony in three neighbouring and important localities for the name and practice, would be a pretty convincing proof of the existence of a deity under this name of Lubben, our "Lob of Spirits," and "Lubber Fiend." Our English *loiterer* is German *Lotter bube* (Adelung, s. v. *Figürlich unstät, flüchtig*); and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Lubben- (Lubber, Angl.) steine, we have a very old convent, the burial-place of an emperor, called *Königs-lutter*.\*

\* By accident the following note on the *Lubbenstein*, from Grimm, *D. M.* p. 492, was overlooked till the above was written. The synonym for Lubbe, *pilosus*, with the conjunction of Milton's *Lubber fiend* and *hairy length* in the same stanza, is curious, and shows, perhaps, that the poet who sang so well the Christian mysteries, was also more versed in lore of heathendom than is generally believed. "Auch Lubbe Lübbe schon scheint in Nieder Sächsischen Gegenden gleichviel mit plumper Riese; den Lubbenstein auf dem Cornelius Berg bei Helmstadt. Nach Brem *W.B.* (iii. 92). bedeutet Lübbe einen ungeschickten faulen menschen: es ist das Englische Lubber Lobber (Tölpel), bei Michael Beham (Mone's Auz. 1834, 450 b.) *Lüpel*. vgl. altn. lubbi, hirsutus (*pilosus*)—hierzu eine merkwürdige Urkunde des B. Gerhard v. Halberstadt der noch in 1462, über heidnische Verehrung eines Wesens klagt den man 'den guden Lub-

Having, at page 170, stated the various names by which our Puck is noted in Mecklenburg, from Masch and elsewhere, it may now be convenient to adduce the Latin forms of Pusceto, which we find in *Abraham Frenzelius (de Diis Soraborum, in Hoffman's Scriptorum Rerum Lusitarum, sect. ii. cap. xxv. p. 207* :—“*Puscetum* deum sub sambucam arborem collocarunt cui pane et cerevisia sacra fecerunt: imperium quoque Pusceto in Barstuccas id est spiritus, attribuerunt, et Puscetum orationibus defatigarunt ut Marcopolum Deum Supanorum seu nobilium placaret ne ab his grave ac dura servitute jugoque premerentur. \* \* \* Pusceti nomen ut barbarum, ita a slavica litteratura prorsus peregrinum alieno modo scribi solet. Apud Melitum (*Ep. ad G. Sabinum, p. 167, 169*) dicitur *Putscaetus* et *Petscaetus*. *Paschvitus* apud Martin. Marini et *Puschkaitus* apud alios et *Puscaetos* apud Hartknock. (*Dissert. 16 p. 115.*) Sub sambuco etiam Deos habitare credidit caeca olim Prussorum gens: sed et nostris temporibus (about 1750) quibusdam in locis vana haec persuasio mentes hominum occupavit ut credant sub sambuco morari homunculos subterraneos *Barstuccas* veteribus Prussis

ben,' nenne und dem man auf einem Berge bei Schochwitz in der Grafschaft Mansfeld thierknochen darbringe: nicht nur haben solche uralte Knochenanhäufungen dort am Lussberge vorgefunden (man vgl. den Augsb. *perleich* 1271), sondern auch an der Kirche des nahegelegenen Müllersdorf das eingemauerte Bild eines Götzen welches der Sage noch von dem Lussberge dahin gebracht worden (N. Mitsheilig. der Thür. Sächs. Vereins, iii. 130—136. v. 110. 12), die Abbildung enthält aber nicht riesenhaftes: eher eine Göttin auf einem Wolfe stehend.”

dictos quod et mihi puero mulierculus aliquoties referre memini."

Now, besides other synonyms or variations of nomenclature for our Puck, this passage, and the extract from Masch (p. 67), gives us the other name of *Berstuccas* or *Berstück's*, as a deity which, by a verbal affinity, throws a new and hitherto unregarded light on another legend of great antiquity and considerable spread, but which we are frequently induced to consider indigenous and almost exclusively English, viz., the "MAN IN THE MOON." For the following particulars of this curious myth I am partly indebted to Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, 679-682; to *Nork's Kloster*, vol. ix. 496 ff. and p. 920 ff.; as well as to J. O. Halliwell's *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, s. p. 52; both the latter have principally availed themselves of Grimm's labours.

Nork says the fable of the man in the moon seems an etymological one. In Indian mythology Menu (man) is called, as first-created being, *manusha*, after proceeding from the moon, (*ma, μην*). This man is the Egyptian *menes*, and the Cretan Bull-Sire, Minos, with allusion to the horns of the moon.\* The Germans deduced themselves from Mannus, son of Thuisco, the air god, as Menu was a son of Brahma. This melting of both meanings (*manu* and *moon*) into these so

\* *Manu* took, when he first exercised generation, the form of a bull. As lawgiving bull, Dherma, (who, like Minos, judges the dead in the new moon, *i. e.* in the realm of shadows), he goes through all the four world-ages (moon phases.)

very nearly allied words, is also shown in the northern *mana-garner*, as the all-devouring dog is called which is nurtured by the death of all, and which, as Wolf, will swallow up the moon. Hagen compares, also, the old German *mane* (moon) with *maenish*, *monish*, mortal, and adds:—"If we reflect that the northern *mani* is rather the leader of the moon-time than the moon itself, the widely-extended idea of the man in the moon will have another meaning and origin than the spots on the moon's disc, in which he is as little to be seen as what the Swedes take them for, viz., two men who carry on a pole a large bucket (*Ling Eddornas Sinnebildslara*, i. 78). The Edda calls these two *Bil* and *Hiuki*, sons of Bidhfinnis, and declares: Mani took the boys from the earth as they carried the bucket (*sägr*) from the well (*borgir*) on the pole (*sivul*) (*Sn. Edda* 9.) These obscure names refer possibly to the changeful phases of the moon, and her waning and filling her horns; for *bila* means lessening, and *Hjuka* nourishing, *saegr*, fullness (*v. Finn Magnusen's Lex. Mythologicum*, 507); which signifies the bucket drawing water from the hidden spring. Not much clearer than this bucket are the accompaniments of our own moon-manikin, his thorn bush, and dog; which latter, again, would be to construe for the wild huntsman (or Diana, Lady Hölle, or the dog-headed Hecate) (*Hagen, ibid.* p. 360). In the German myth the man in the moon is a cabbage thief, for which, as a punishment, he was put into the moon. In the Mark (of Brandenburg) near Benzendorf, they say it is no man we see in the moon,

but a woman that spun on a Sunday, and for this was put up there with her spindle, as a punishment (*Kuhn Märkische Sagen*, n. 26); most probably the same Maria mentioned, p. 494, that was not ready with her spinning on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, and therefore taken up into the moon; probably Maria herself who, in the Apocalypse, is represented standing upon the moon, and, according to a legend, has actually her abode there (*cf. Naubert's Neue Volksmärchen*, vol. i.)

In Ditmarschen, they say the inhabitants of Büsum sit in their church steeple and hold the sun by a bell-rope. They keep it there the night through, and must thrust it upwards again in the morning. They also say, when it comes in the evening into their neighbourhood, the boys tie a piece of string to their pocket knives, and throw them towards the sun, and so pull it down to them. Others, however, declare that there is a village in the neighbourhood of Hamburg whose inhabitants do the same to the moon. They pull her up and down, and from the cuts of their knives are caused her large holes and black spots (*Müllenhof, Schleswig-Holstein Sagen*, No. 351).

Grimm says (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 679):

“The spots and shady holes on the disc of the full moon have produced amongst many people curious but similar mythic ideas. To the Indian popular mind they represent a hare, namely, Chandras, the moon god, carries a hare (*sasa*); and the moon is therefore called *sasanka* (hare spot or blot) (*Schlegels Ind. Biblio.* i. p. 217). According, also, to Mongolian tradition, the moon's shadows form a hare (*Bergmann's Streifereien* 3, 40, 204, *Majers Mytholog. Wörterbuch*, i. 540).”

On the myth from Scandinavia, of Bil and Hiuki, Grimm remarks further:—

“That the moon phases cannot be hereby meant, but its spots, follows plainly from the picture itself. The change of moon cannot produce the figure of *two children with the water bucket on their shoulders*. What appears to us the most singular is, that a Christian modification has afterwards proceeded from this heathen idea of a *children-stealing moon-man*, which, beyond Scandinavia, obtained throughout Germany, and perhaps farther. They tell us the man in the moon was a wood-thief, who stole sticks during church service on a Sunday, and now, as a punishment, is charmed up into the moon. There he may be seen, with *axe* upon his shoulder, and his bundle of *sticks in his hand*. Quite clear is it that the pole of the heathen story has been transformed into the axe, and the bucket into the bundle of thorns. The idea of theft was retained, but the keeping of the Christian Sabbath holy was principally inculcated;\* the man suffers not so much for stealing firewood, as because he did it on a Sunday. This intruded view was based upon Deuteronomy xv. 32-36, where we read of a man who had gathered sticks on the Sabbath, and whom the Israelite people stoned to death, but all without mention of the moon or her spots. When this fable first appeared in Germany I cannot ascertain, but it is now universally prevalent.”

The following curious version is from Tobler's *Sprachschatz in Appenzel*:—

“An arma ma het alawil am sonnti holz ufglesa. Do hedem der lieb gott dwahl gloh, ðb er lieber wött ider sonn verbrenna oder im mo verfrüra (andere sagen; in kalta mo ihi oder i dhöll abi) do willer lieber inn mo ihi. dromm siedma no ietz an ma im mo inna wenns wedel ist. er hed a püscheli uffem rogga.”

\* According to a Westphalian version, the man had blocked up the church with thorns on a Sunday, and for that was put into the moon with his bush.

Kuhn's *Märkische Sagen*, Nos. 27, 104, 130, have three different relations; according to one, a besom-maker collected broom, or a spinster span; according to another, a man spread dung; and to the third, that he stole cabbages; and this form, with the broom, faggot, the spindle, the dung-fork, or the cabbage-plant, make the moon's spots. The first relation I know of is from Fischart's *Gargantua*, 130 b. : " Sah im mon ein männlin das holz gestohlen het;" and still more precisely says Prætorius (*Weltbeschreibung*, i. 447) the superstitious people pretended the black spots in the moon are the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath, and was stoned for it. The Dutch *Volksagen* (the national predilections here prevailing) make the man a filcher of garden stuff, who shows himself in the moon with the bundle of "moes" upon his shoulder (*Westendorp*, p. 129).

Two other varieties of interpretation for the spots on the moon have biblical support—*Impri-mis*, it is Isaac who carries a *bundle of wood* for his own sacrifice up the Hill Moriah (Prætorius, *Weltbeschreibung*, i. 447). Afterwards Cain, with a load of thorns upon his shoulder, to make to the Lord, as an offering, the smallest possible produce of his fields; for this latter we have the early authority of Dante, *Paradies*, ii. 50 :—

" Che sono i segni bui  
De questo corpo, che laggiuso in terra  
Fan di Cain favoleggiare altrui ;"—

and *Inferno*, 20—126, "Caino e le Spine." Lau-dino remarks on this passage: "Cioè la luna

nella quale i volgari vedendo una certa ombra, credono che sia Caino c' habbia *in spalla una forcata di pruni.*" Another commentator: "Accomodandosi alla favola del volgo, che sieno quelle macchie Caino che *inalzi una forcata di spine.*"

All these interpretations unite in this, that they view a human figure in these moon spots, that carries something on its shoulder, whether hare, or pole with the bucket, or the mere burthen of thorns.

The following is a Swiss song in the dialect of Appenzel, called, "Der Mann im Mond" (*vide* Hebel's *Allemannische Gedichte*, 12mo. Arau, 1821, p. 43), praised by Grimm (p. 680, note), and mentioned by Halliwell (*Introduction, &c.* p. 56), but which I believe has not yet been printed in England:—

“Lueg, Muetterli, was isch im 'Mo' ?

He! sieh'sch's denn nit, e Ma!

'Jo wegerli, i sieh ne scho;

'Er het e Tschöpli a.'

'Was tribt er denn die ganzi Nacht.'

'Er rühret io kei Glied?'

'He sieh'sch nit, ass er Welle macht?'

'Jo ebe dreiht er d'Wied.'

'Wär i, wie er, i blieb dehei

'Und machti d'Welle do.'

He isch er denn us üser Gmei?

Mer hen scho selber so.

'Und meinsch, er chönn so, wiener well?

Es werd em, was em g'hört.

Er gieng wol gern—der süfer gsell

Muss schellewerche dört.'



- ‘ Was het et bosget Muetterli ?’  
 Wer het en bannt dörthi !’  
 ‘ Me het em gseit der *Dieterli*.’  
 E Nütznutz isch er gsi.
- ‘ Ufs Bete het er nit viel gha,  
 Uffs Schaffen o nit viel ;  
 Und öbbis muss me triebe da  
 Sust het me langi wil.
- ‘ Drum, het en öbbe nit der Vogt  
 Zur Strof ins Hüsli gspert,  
 Sen isch er Ebe z’Chander g’hockt  
 Und het d’Butelli g’lert.’
- ‘ Je Muetterli wer het em’s Geld  
 Zu so’m Lebe ge !’  
 Du Närsch er het in Hus und Feld  
 Scho selber wisse z’neh.
- Ne mok, es isch e Sunntig gsi  
 So stoht er uf vor Tag  
 Und nimmt e Biel und tummlet si  
 Und lauft in Lieler Schlag.
- Er haut die schönste Buechli um  
 Macht Bohne-Stecke drus  
 Und treit sie furt und luegt nit um,  
 Und isch scho fast am Hus.
- Und ebe goht er uffem Steg  
 Se runscht em öbbes für  
 ‘ Jez, Dieter, gohts en andre Weg  
 Jez Dieter chumm mit mir.’
- ‘ Und uf und furt und sieder isch  
 Kei Dieter wit und breit  
 Dört obe stoht er im Gibüsch  
 Und in der Einsamkeit.
- ‘ Jez haut er jungi Buechli um  
 Jez chuchet er in d’Händ.

Jez dreiht er d'Wied und leit sie drum  
Und's Sufe het en End.'

'So gohts dem arme Dieterli'  
Er isch e gestrofte Ma !

'O bhütis Gott, lieb Muetterli  
I möchts nit mittem ha !'

Se hüt die vorem böse Ding,

'S bringt numme Weh und Ach !

Wenn's Sunntig isch, se bet und sing  
Am Werchtig schaff di Sach.'''\*

The following version may be useful even to those whose knowledge of German is more than superficial; for the author thought it necessary, as in the case of our illustrators of provincial dialects, to add a glossary. It is attempted rather to be literal than poetical:—

“‘Look, mother, look! what's that i'th moon?’

‘See'st thou not it's a man?’

‘Aye, surely now I see the loon,  
His doublet too I scan.

‘What does he, then, the live-long night ?

He moves, it seems, no limb?—

‘Why, see'st not how he makes kids right?’—

‘Aye, now he's twisting them.’”

\* In Beckstein's *Deutsches Märchen Buch*, the author gives, from a verbal relation, the tale of the “*Man in the Moon*,” which has the usual fact of cutting wood on the Sunday, with the addition that he is warned against the desecration by God himself (“*Dem lieben Hergott*,”) in vain. The wood-cutter answers: “Sunday on earth, or Monday in heaven, what matters either to me or thee;” and his doom follows thus: “Therefore shalt thou bear thy bundle of sticks for ever; and since the Sunday on earth is so worthless to thee, thou shalt have in future, for ever, an eternal black Monday (Moonday), and be set up there an everlasting warning to all who desecrate the Sunday by working.”

- ‘ Were I like him I’d stop at home,  
And bind my furze kids there.  
Is he then from our parish come ?  
I think I’ve seen him here.’—
- ‘ Think’st thou he could so if he willed ?  
He’s got his full desert.  
Gladly he’d ’scape ; because he swill’d.  
He’s now in chains and dirt.’—
- ‘ What has he done, then, mother dear ;  
Who sent him there to delve ?’—
- ‘ His name is Dierdeli, I hear,  
A good for nothing elf.
- ‘ For praying he had not much fame,  
For work perhaps little more ;  
For one or t’other must we aim,  
Or grievous is our hour.
- ‘ For these the beadle yonder not  
Him sets to pine i’the cage ;  
He’s look’d too often in the pot,  
And known the tankard’s gage.’—
- ‘ But, mother mine, who gave him gold,  
Such jovial life to lead ?’—
- ‘ Thou silly boy, in house and fold  
He had no siller’s need.
- ‘ The thing thus on a Sunday pass’d ;  
He rose afore the sun,  
His bill he took with quickest haste,  
And to the woodlands run.
- ‘ Down fall the beeches high and sound,  
To make him hop-poles tall ;  
He drags them off, nor looks around,  
And now is nigh his hall.
- ‘ But ’fore he gets him in the yard,  
A voice sounds high and dree—  
“ Now, Dieter, try a path more hard!  
Now, Dieter, come with me !”

' And up and down, for never more  
Is Dieter far or near ;  
The bush above there holds him sore,  
In solitude and fear.

' He now cuts brushwood young and low,  
And blows his frozen hand ;  
He twists his faggots cold and slow ;  
Tippling's now at a stand.'

And thus with Dieterli it fares,  
He's a hard punished man."

" May heav'n forbid thy mother-cares  
E'er find me in such Bann !"

' Then keep thee from the wicked thing,  
It brings still grief and pain ;  
On Sunday prayers and praises sing,  
Work-days for work remain.' "

It will be seen the above embodies the mythic features contained in fables of all ages concerning the Man in the Moon, with some, perhaps, peculiarly Alemannic or Southern Germanic. Of the latter is the fact of tippling, which seems to be put forward as the ultimate reason for the theft, which other countries deem the prime crime; being an excellent example of the old tale, that when the tempter offered the choice of two horrible crimes, or getting drunk in the alternative, and the latter was accepted as a minor evil, the deluded sinner, when senseless from liquor, committed the other two. To this Cruickshank's excellent series of prints, entitled "*The Bottle*," offers a beautifully graphic commentary. The main features, however, of our story, the man, the bush, the watery *coldness* of his habitation, his being placed there for punishment, his

axe, and the kids or faggots he has to twist, are all the more general features of the picture; and to the latter I shall have again to draw particular attention.

Our English traditions have been principally collected, by the zeal and ability of Mr. Halliwell, at p. 52 of his *Introduction*, elucidating the device of the Athenian play-wright, with Peter Quince at their head, to bring in the Man in the Moon, with his bush at his back. I must, however, demur to the motto of his chapter, taken from Butler's *Hudibras*, part ii. canto iii. v. 251:—

“ Who first found out the Man-i'-the-Moon,  
That to the ancients was unknown.”—

as I mean to prove that every attribute given to him has been copied from classic authorities, or runs parallel with them from a common origin; and that, at the utmost, the name we give him is modern; but I agree with him in finding, from Ashmole's following pun (taken from his MS. 36 and 37), that at his time the legend itself had well nigh been forgotten:—

“ 'Tis strange, yet true, he's but a month-old man,  
And yet hath liv'd ere since the world began; ”

for ever after the breaking out of the civil wars we hear little more of the olden tales; they smacked too much of popery. The poem copied by Ritson, from the Harl. MS (2253), has been reprinted by Mr. Halliwell; but though the original is written extremely clear, I think, from the difficulty of making sense or correspondence with other legends, that its writer has copied

from a faulty legend, or himself not fully comprehended its sense. Mr. Halliwell thinks this MS. probably of the thirteenth century; and as his knowledge of antique parchments is too great for doubt, this document would be a very old, perhaps the earliest, proof of the story in the northern parts of Europe. The next evidence of our acquaintance with it is from Chaucer, at the close of the fourteenth century. In the poem entitled the *Testament of Creisside*," printed in that poet's works, there is this allusion to the legend:—

“Next after him come Lady Cynthea,  
 The last of all, and swiftest in her sphere,  
 Of color blake, busked with hornis twa,  
 And in the night she listeth best t'apere,  
 Hawe as the Leed, of colour nothing dere,  
 For all the light she borrowed at her brother  
 Titan, for of herselfe she hath non other.  
 Her gite was grey, and ful of spottis blake,  
 And on her brest a chorle painted ful euen,  
 Bering a bushe of thornis on his bake,  
 Whiche for his thefte might clime no ner the heven.”

Amongst the few evidences of its existence and popularity, the following nursery rhyme must also have place, though it is clear the legend in the first lines is but the peg to hang the subsequent rhymes upon:—

“The Man in the Moon  
 Came tumbling down,  
 And asked his way to Norwich;  
 He went by the south,  
 And burnt his mouth  
 With supping hot pease porridge.”

Passing the mention from Missingham's *Diary*, 1601, and that from Middleton, as well as the well-known passage in the *Tempest*, we come to the quotation from a very old ballad, beginning—

“The Man in the Moon drinks claret,  
With powdered beef, turnip, and carrot ;”

with the variation communicated orally by a Somersetshire friend to Mr. Halliwell, who could, unfortunately, recollect only the first verse :—

“The Man in the Moon drinks claret,  
But he is a dull Jack o’Dandy ;  
Would he know a sheep’s head from a carrot,  
He should learn to drink cyder and brandy.”

It is to be lamented that this fragment is all that is now likely to be recovered, of what must have been once one of the most popular of our ancestral melodies. Independently of the Roxburgh *Collection of Ballads* in the British Museum, there are also three volumes of various scraps got together by the industrious Bagford (library mark, 643 m. 9, 10, & 11), and amongst them a number of curious broadside ballads, many of them not in the Roxburgh Collection. More than one that Bagford got together bear the title of “The Man in the Moon drinks Claret.”

No.  $\frac{643\ 10\ m.}{119}$  *The Man in the Moon drinks Claret*, as it was lately sung at the Court in Holywell.”

This woodcut is very curious ; it represents a man in a ruff and Spanish dress, of about the time of James the First, standing in the crescent of a large half-moon, with a wine-jug in one

hand, a glass raised in the other. The words are remarkable; but beyond the title and conclusion, we find nothing allusive to the moon-man.



The following are the only verses in which any allusion is made to the very taking title:—

“Our Man in the Moon drinks Claret;  
If he doth so, why should not you  
Drink until the sky look bleu?”—

and the conclusion—

“If then you do love my host's claret,  
Fat powdered beef, turnip, and carrot;  
Come again and again,  
And still welcome, gentlemen!”

And that the popularity of this emblem was not confined to verse, we find from Akerman's curious



volume of "*Tradesmen's Tokens*," where it is shown to have been a favourite tradesman's sign of the sixteenth century.

No. 75 has the inscription:—"JOHN CLARK, AT THE MAN IN THE MOON IN WAPING, HIS HALF-PENNY," with the date 1688; and on its obverse, the figure of a man standing upright in the crescent. Mr. Akerman remarks: "We have seen the subject most quaintly treated on village signboards, but the man in the moon is here not inelegantly represented, however preposterous the idea. No. 49, stated as the "Man in the Moon, Waping," does not correspond with Mr. Akerman's description. No. 87, *The Shepherd and his Dog*, Tooley Gate, is the only allusion to the dog, which is also an attribute to our lunar denizen (*vide* p. 165).

The previous broadside of these ballads is entitled, "*New Mad Tom of Bedlam* ; or

*"The Man in the Moon drinks Claret,  
With Powder-Beef, Turnip, and Carrot."*

The woodcut here, also, is remarkable. A wild, savage Sylvan man, with large chaplet over his head, the face with full beard and mustachios; huge hunting horn slung from right shoulder; staff in right bent arm, a loose vest round the loins, and sandals. The whole of the ballad is too long for insertion; but the following is a specimen, with the allusion, at the end, to the Man in the Moon:—

*"Last night I heard the Dog-Star bark,  
Mars met Venus in the dark;*

Limping Vulcan het an iron bar,  
 And furiously ran at the God of War;  
 Mars with his weapon laid about,  
 But Vulcan's temples had the gout;  
 His broad horns did so hang in his sight,  
 He could not see to aim his blows aright.  
 Mercury, the nimble Poast of Heaven,  
     Stood still to see the quarrel;  
 Gorrel-bellied Bacchus, gyant like,  
     Bestrid a strong beer barrel;  
         To me he drank,  
         I did him thank;  
 But I could get no Cider.  
     He drank whole butts,  
     'Till he crackt his gutts,  
     But mine were none the wider.  
 Poor naked Tom is very dry.\*  
 A little drink for charity.  
     Hark, I hear  
     Actæon's hounds,  
 The huntsman whoops and hollows;  
     Ringwood, Royster,  
     Bown, Joyler,  
 At the the (*sic*) chase now follows.  
 The Man in the Moon drinks claret,  
 Eats powder'd beef, turnip and carrot;  
 A cup of old Malaga Sack  
 Will fire his bush at his back."

This title, and the burthen of our Man in the Moon in the songs, which have so little to do with its general tendency, could only have been given from the wide spread of the fable, and its popularity with the great bulk of the people, for whose amusement these broadsides were intended; but with full as little reason does Lilly give the

\* "Edgar. Poor Tom's a-cold."—*King Lear*, act iii. sc. 4.

"*Man in the Moon*" as the second title to his "*Endymion*," which was calculated for a higher class of society, and where, under the name of Cynthia, the Virgin Queen is principally extolled. Vide "*Halpin's Oberon's Vision*" (Lond. 1843) p. 50, where is the following extract from Lilly's Preface: "It was forbidden, in old times, to dispute of Chimæra, because it was a fiction; we hope in our times none will apply pastimes, because they are fancies; for there liveth none under the sun that knows what to make of the Man in the Moon. We present neither comedy, or tragedy, nor story, but whosoever heareth may say this: '*Why, here is a tale of the Man in the Moon.*' It seems—to speak according to present popular parlance—this title was a taking one."\*

\* Lest any one should be led astray by the title of the following work, we copy its description from the Rev. Dr. Whitaker's *History of Craven*, which is, however, an additional instance of the popularity of the tale:—

"It will now give pain to no one, if I notice Mr. Wilson, formerly curate of Halton Gill, near Skipton in Craven, and father of the late Rev. Edward Wilson, canon of Windsor. He wrote a tract, entitled "*The Man in the Moon*," which was seriously meant to convey the knowledge of common astronomy in the following strange vehicle.

"A cobbler, Israel Jobson by name, is supposed to ascend, first, to the top of Penigent, and thence, as a second stage, equally practicable, to the moon; after which he makes the tour of the whole solar system. From this excursion the traveller brings back little information which might not have been had upon earth, excepting that the inhabitants of one of the planets were made of 'pot metal.'

"It (the book) is rarely to be met with, having, as I am told, been industriously bought up by his family."

Leaving to a future chapter the consideration of the *watery Moon*, or, in Lydgate's words, in his *Storie of Thebes* :—

“Of Lucina the Moone, moist and pale,  
That many showre fro heaven made availe”—

as well as the true source of her claret-bibbing propensities—we will proceed to the consideration of another peculiarity of Puch, as Häckelberend,\* or Back-Berend, back-bearing in general, or more especially of the bush or thorns at his back. At p. 199, the extract from Frenzelius gives us another Slavonic name for their Puck, or Puscetus, that of *Berstuccas*, which is also fully confirmed by Voigt's *Preussische alte Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 594. Speaking of the lesser deities of the heathen Prussians, one of this species of spirits were the *Berstucks*, or *Perstucks*—“Sylvan deities and elf-like were the Marcopeten, which, leaving their night-haunts in the twilight, sought for food, and were sought to be propitiated by offerings of food, for they were the guardian angels of house and barn.” He adduces as his authority the oldest historian of the Teutonic order, Lucas

But this title seems to have been, in the seventeenth century, very generally taken for any work of fiction or characters, though the subject-matter have as little to do with our popular mythology as any real denizen in the Moon itself; thus “*The Man in the Moone, or the English Fortune Teller*,” edited by Halliwell, for the Percy Society, which has no connexion with the Queen of Night, or any of her subjects, farther than their appearance on the title-page.

\* For the importance of this term, *cf.* p. 72, ff.

David, i. s. 86. 127; Hartknock, 162; Ostermeier, 15, 21; and we find the same in Masch, *Alterthümer der Obotriten*, p. 31, § 9. "The Wendic half-gods are of a different kind; they are called *Berstucn*, *Marcopeten*, and *Coltki*\* (perhaps our Colpixies, or Coltpixies);" and that the superstition continues in full vigour to the present day, we find in the following observations from Tettau and Temme's *Preussische Volkssagen*, published in 1841, at p. 119: "*The Holy Limetree*.—This holy tree, near the town of Rastenburg, has been long famous as chapel and place of pilgrimage. In the time of heathendom there stood here an immense lime, beneath which many deities were worshipped. A species of small underground mannikins, called *Berstuccs*, had here their more especial habitations. They made their appearance by bright moonshine, and made themselves then comfortable. They fetched corn for those to whom they were attached, from the barns

\* There can be very little doubt that these *Coltki* are what Heywood meant at 272 of his *Hierarchie*, in the passage—

“ In John Milesius any man may reade  
Of devils in Sarmatia honored,  
Called *Koltri* or *Kibaldi*; such as we  
Pugs and Hobgoblins call; their dwellings be  
In corners of old houses least frequented,  
Or beneath stacks of wood, and there convented,  
Make fearful noise in butteries and dairies.  
Robin Goodfellows some—some call them fairies.”

And this is a very early and complete testimony to the identity of British and Slavonian mythology.

and warehouses of such neighbours as had proved themselves inhospitable towards them. To worship or oblige them, a table was placed towards evening, covered with a clean cloth, on which were set bread, cheese, butter, and beer, and they were invited to sup. If the next morning nothing was found on the table, it was a favourable omen; on the contrary, if these victuals stood undisturbed throughout the night, it was a sign that the gods had departed from the house of him who made this offering (*Acta Borussica*, i. 245; *Leo. Hist. Pruss.* p. 10; *Clagius de Linda Mariana*, i. cap. xv. p. 84 ff.; Hartknock's *Kirchen Hist.* 190 ff.)" Farther, at p. 285, No. 17, "*The Funeral Urns*.—Many believe, of the urns found in heathen tombs, that they were the utensils which the subterraneous deities (*Barstücken*) used, and which they had either put into the grave after their friends, to use in the next world, or that they had left behind them when they forsook their habitation. Others believe that the earth bore them from her womb, when she was, as it were, therewith pregnant, in the fruitful month of May. If milk were kept in such urns it gave richer butter; and if hens were let to drink out of them, they not only improved wonderfully, but were never troubled by the pip; seed corn, kept therein before it was sown, was sure of a rich harvest. (*Reusch. de Tum. et Urnis Sepulchris Regiomontan.* 1724, iv. c. iii. § 2, 3. Compare *Erläutertes Preussen*, W. § 95)." And finally, in the paragraph headed *Barstucks*, we have some farther particulars: "The *Barstucks* are little earth

mannikins, which cause either great injury, or bring much luck, accordingly as they are in a bad or good humour, and every one, therefore, seeks to make friends with them. In the evening a table is laid for them in the barn, which is covered neatly with a cloth, and the master of the house places on it bread, cheese, butter, and beer. If, on the following morning, nothing is found on the table, it is occasion of great joy, and great hopes are entertained of increase in all domestic concerns. If, on the contrary, the victuals remain the night through untouched, it causes great sorrow, as it is supposed that the Barstucks have left, and will cause great damage. This belief is particularly prevalent in Samland, near Königsberg (Hartknock, 161; Luc. Dav. i. § 86, 127; Voigt, i. 594; Act. Boruss. ii. 406, v. 112)."

Who, on reading the above accounts, does not call to mind a similar dupery in the earliest circumstantial relation that has reached us of priestly trickery, in that portion of the Apocrypha called *Bel and the Dragon*?—and of its continuance as a belief amongst the Greeks, the passage put into the mouth of Clytemnestra, at p. 75, is a convincing proof. Our English fairies are less selfish; they mostly are content with objective cleanliness in the house and hearths they frequent, but their rewards can consist in nothing but eatables, and are not invariably given; though from Reginald Scott's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, it would seem to have been an obsolete practice in 1588 to 1651, p. 61; for he speaks of it as practised by "their grand-

dames:" "Your grand-dames maids were wont to set a bowl of milk for him (Robin), for his pains in grinding of malt and mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight; his white bread and milk was his standing fee." Sometimes, however, Robin is represented as begging for his portion, and he used this song, to the tune of "The Jovial Tinker":—

"Good people of this mansion,  
 Unto the poore be pleased  
 To doe some good, and give some food,  
 That hunger may be eased.  
 Oh, give the poore some bread, cheese, or butter,  
 Bacon, hemme, or flaxe,  
 My need doth make me axe."

And when these dues are denied, or, for his favourite white bread and milk, he finds an inferior quality, his anger rises into threats:—

"Brown bread and herring cob!  
 Thy fat sides shall have many a bob."

These coincidences, I think, fully prove that the continental Mecklenburg and Prussian *Berstucks* are legitimate Robin Goodfellows, or Pucks; and if further proof were wanting, the following figure, being one side of a bronze image, of the size of the original, in the collection of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, will establish the fact beyond a doubt; for in the inscribed runes we can plainly read the conjoint names of BERSTUCK and CRIVE, as synonyms and names of the image, which has in form and character every feature of our own merry Puck, with all the goat-



like members of the Oriental Bock, so that we may fairly take it as a genuine representation; and as its antiquity will be proved indisputably to the eighth or ninth century, also as the oldest extant. Leaving a full disquisition on its discovery, together with numerous other figures of



Wendic idols to the next chapter, I shall for the present content myself with a description of it, and the runes graven on it, from p. 116 of Masch's *Alterthumer der Obotriten*, § 214:—

“This figure is of mixed metal (bronze), two inches and a half high, and four and a half loth (about three English ounces) heavy. The head is largely protruded; the body

that of a naked man, somewhat bent; the knees are likewise bent, and the entire figure, as if bearing a burthen, has also on the back a small pack, which the Satyr bears. The one foot, which is more bent, and therefore smaller than the other, seems a horse's hoof:\* the latter is a human foot. Both arms are broken off. Small as the figure is, so beautifully and neatly is it worked and adorned with numerous Runic characters, amongst which are many whose sense it is not easy to determine. On the pack is *zu*; under the left arm, on the breast, *l*; on the back, to the bend of the knee, *Berstuck*; on the left side of the back, *Crive*; beneath the left arm to the bend of the knee, *Veidelbot*; beneath the right flat foot, *s*, and beneath the left, *u*."

Leaving for the present all the other names, we shall proceed, by a grammatical consideration of the name of *Berstuck*, to point out its coincidences with our popular ideas, and the views and sculptured relics of antiquity.

That *Berstucks* is a compound word, its very appearance must persuade us. Its first syllable, *Ber*,† is identical with the German *Bär* (pronounced *Bare*), our English *Bear*. As opportunity will again offer to enlarge upon the verbal

\* The figures, which were drawn by the court painter, *Wogen*, who was at the entire expense of the work, and therefore often gets the credit of its authorship, do not quite bear out this description; though it must be recollected that our cloven foot always goes, in Germany, by the name of *Horse's-foot* (*Pferde-fuss*). *Langbein* calls the devil "*der Herr mit Schwanz und Pferdefuss*."

† This word is the root of the name of many towns, supposed to have been originally the lair of bears in the primeval woods. *Berlin* bears in its arms a rampant bear, surmounted by seven towers, representing so many united boroughs—*Bernau*, in its neighbourhood, *Bernburg*, &c.

peculiarities of this word, it will be sufficient here to mention, that one of its terms, with German hunters, is *Petz*, which would identify it with *Peze*, *Pece*, *Puce*, which *Masch* gives to his Mecklenburgh Pucks. *Adelung*, s. v. *Bär*, admits that any large animal was originally called by this, or perfectly cognate terms; and *Grimm*, *D. M.* p. 633, proves that the Germans, who gave to each species of the brute creation their proper kings, held the bear as the monarch of the beasts.\*

\* *Grimm's* passage is curious, and therefore I adduce the original:—

“Unter den wilden Waldthieren die der Mensch mit Scheu betrachtete, denen er Ehrerbietung bezeugte: vor allen *Bär*, *Wolf*, *Fuchs*: ich habe dargethan dass diesen dreien nach weit und frühe in Europa verbreitete Sitte, ehrende Namen beigelegt wurden und dass unseren Ahnen der *Bär* für den *König der Thiere* galt. Eine Urkunde von 1290 (*Langs. reg.* 4, 467), liefert den Beinamen *Chüonrat* der Heiligbär wozu man den älteren Manns und Frauens namen, altn. *Asbiorn*; ags. *Osbjorn*; ahd. *Auspero*; und altn. *Asbiorna*; ahd. *Auspirin* (in Wall. *Ospirn*) halte: damals scheinen noch unter dem Volke Sagen von der Heiligkeit des Thiers im Gange gewesen zu sein. *Biorn* war ein Beinamen der Thors und nach der wälschen Sage wurde *König Arthur* als *Bär* und *Gott* dargestellt; was man nicht erst aus einer Ähnlichkeit des Namens mit *αρκτος* zu leiten hat. Ueberraschend ist die in *Victor Hugo's Notre Dame de Paris*, ii. 272, mitgetheilte Nachricht dass die Ziegeuner den fuchs, piedbleu, courier des Bois: den *Wolf* pied gries, pied doré: den *Bären* *vieux* oder *grand pere* nennen.”

*Mone* (*Europäisches Heidenthum*, i. p. 211) says of the *Berstucks*: “*Berstuck*—that is, *Woodspirit*—was worshiped by the *Crive* and *Veidelbolts*, and was, as the name imports, at the head of all the *Sylvan* deities. He had a goat's

Their knowledge of natural history was then, most probably, bounded by the terrors of their native forests; though, when the lions and tigers became known, these Eastern beasts assumed the pre-eminence assigned to them by nature. To the great veneration of the ancient Germans for the bear, or some animal like it, Tacitus *De morib. German.* cap. xliii. : “Æstiorum gentes alluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, *lingua Britannicæ proprior*—Matrem Deum venerantur: insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant.”

The second syllable of this word Stücks is certainly identical with the classical *Styx*, even to an identity of pronunciation, and, without doubt, also of meaning. At p. 37, I have already given the quotation from Ovid, which proves that *Styx*, as a river, was but the substitute of an actual deity, *Stygius*, of whose existence I certainly have hitherto met with no other instance; but this concealment or retention of his personal name, may have originated in the same feeling which obtains in all the Eastern nations (*vide* p. 37); for with Ovid, like the river, which seems to have become the mezzo termine, or compromise, by which their consciences might not be hurt, and yet the name pronounced, a river of the name was feigned, by which gods and men could make a binding oath.

form, very like a Satyr, and is called expressly, Zlebog, the angry deity.” But Mone candidly admits that he is unable to explain the name; and, as a wood deity, he adduces for their Wendic frequency the following passage from Hel-mold: “Adorabant lucos atque penates quibus agri et op-pida abundabant.”

A similar compromise is found in the present day betwixt duty and fervour, in the expression, *Odd rot it*, for God rot it. But Ovid's Deus, Stygius Timor ille Deorum, exactly answers, as I have before remarked, to Helmold's similar circumlocution, for his principal Slavonic deity: "Deus ille Deorum," and most probably, therefore, both meant the same; whose proper appellative was *Styx*, or *Stüccs*, in our English pronunciation, *Sticks*, as we shall find subsequently corroborated; for Sticks is but the Bush denuded of its leaves, which, as

"The Bush borne by the Man in the Moon,"

is a principal attribute, and the cognizance by which this fabulous being is most generally known in all countries.

Daniel O'Rourke, according to the veritable account of his *Voyage to the Moon*, preserved by his historian, Crofton Croker, in what he pleases to call *Fairy Legends*, is left by an eagle, dangling by the reaping-hook sticking out of the moon's side: "You may be sure I was in a disconsolate condition, and kept roaring out for the bare grief, when all at once a door opened, right on the middle of the moon, creaking on its hinges, as if it had not been opened for a month before; I suppose they never thought of greasing them; and out there walks—who do you think, but the Man in the Moon. *I knew him by his bush.*"

In reference to this Bush of the Moon, and to give my readers an opportunity of seeing how the Germans could form a scene for their theatre, from the comic side of the tale of the

Man in the Moon, I will give, from Griphius' *Absurda Comica*, (who was almost cotemporary with Shakespeare (†1664), and who, in this play, copied much from *Midsummer Night's Dream*), the scene where the artisan playwrights discuss the subject of their scenic effect for a moon, as follows:—

“*P. H.* Cheerily, cheerily, my lads. The moon will most assuredly shine when we play to-night.

“*M. Kricks.* All very well; but I have always found that it rains when fine weather stands in the almanack.

“*Pet Squince.* Pooh! never mind; the moon must be here when we play, otherwise our business will go to pot—that is, the comedy will be lost.

“*M. Kricks.* But hear what I have thought of. I will tie a bush round my body, and carry a lanthorn, and so *tragicare* (*tragieren*) the moon. Is not my notion a good one?

“*P. H.* By Valtin, that will do. But the moon ought to be aloft—how can we manage that?

“*Pet Squince.* It would not be amiss if you were to place a large basket for the moon, and let him up and down with a rope.

“*Master Kricks.* Aye, but if the rope broke I should tumble, and break, perhaps, my neck or bones. It will be better to place the lanthorn upon a demi-bartisan, so that the light be somewhat raised,” &c.

We see, on a comparison with our own bard, the words

“Without sweetness long drawn out”

lose much of their racy quaintness and point. The Bush, however, round the loins of the Moon, shows how interwoven a chaplet or cincture of leaves was into the popular idea of that planet, or her man, throughout Germany, so late as the middle of the seventeenth century.

The *bush* was certainly one of the most general attributes of a Puch, and by which he is most commonly and universally known. At p. 66 we have its double mention from Shakespeare; we may add the following from that other famous dramatist, Dekker, in his "*Honest Whore*" (4to. Lond. 1633, signat. o 2):—

"Thou art more than the moone, for thou hast neither changing quarters nor a man standing in thy circle with a bush of thorns."

Drayton has also a double allusion to it, in his *Nymphidia*:—

"This Puck seems but a dreaming dolt,  
Still walking like a ragged colt,  
And oft out of a bush doth bolt,  
On purpose to deceive us."

And again:—

"By the whirlwind's hollow sound,  
By the thunder's dreadful sound,  
Yells of spirits underground,  
I charge thee not to fear us.  
By the screech owl's dismal note,  
By the black night raven's throat,  
I charge thee, Hob, to tear *thy coat*  
*With thorns*, if thou come near us."

From Grimm's ample *Storehouse of Mythology*, p. 681, I again borrow a Netherland confirmation of this idea, taken from Van Wyn's *Avonstonden*, i. p. 306, which may also be referred to what I have said at p. 161, on the name Ludeger. Grimm's quotation is:—

"Belderijk verklarende geschachtlegst der Naamwoorden (ii. 198) hat Ludegaar Ludegeer und deutet sicher falsch luikenaar (leodensis). Ubrigens berichtet er die bekannte

Fabel 't mannetjen in de maan dat geregd werd, *ein dorn busch op zyn rug te hebben* en om dat hy 't gestolen had niet hooger ten hemel te mogen op klammen, maar gantsch ingebanen te zijn." \*

The Bridgewater woodcut, p. 155, shows us this bush carried on the shoulder, in an unexpected form, which has so permanently fixed itself in our mythology, as now to be inseparable from our associations and conceptions of a witch and witchcraft, in *the besom*. Once introduced as this useful domestic implement, it may have suggested all the ideas of cleanliness and order for which our fairies are so particularly noted, and which would, no doubt, be carefully kept up and inculcated by our good grand-dames upon their sluttish girls and dairy-maids, as a useful auxiliary for domestic discipline. In this sense we may take the words of Puck:—

————— "Not a mouse  
Shall disturb this hallowed house.  
I am sent, with broom before,  
To sweep the dust behind the door."

I take it the house was hallowed by the presence either of the bush (*sub forma besom*), as the representative of the deity Bog, or of Puck himself, who could scarcely be conceived, like the later witches, without this unalienable attribute.

The *bush* is, further, the prominent feature of our Man in the Moon in the ancient ballad which Ritson first edited (vol. i. p. 68), from No. 2253

\* The mannikin in the moon, it is said to have a thorn-bush on his back, and, because he stole, cannot come any higher up into heaven, but has been banished there for ever.



of the Harleian MS., and considered to be of the thirteenth century. The whole is too long for insertion, and can be referred to as above, or to Halliwell's Introduction to *M. N. D.*, p. 53, and I only, therefore, adduce the passages:—

“ Men in the mone stond and strit,  
 On his bot forke is burthen he bereth,  
 Hit is mucche wonder that he na doun slyt ;  
 For doute lest he valle he shaddreth and shereth ;  
 When the forst freseth much chele he byd  
 The thornes beth kene is hattren to-tereth ;  
 Nis no wyght in the world that wot wen he syt.  
 Ne, bote hit ben the hegge, what wedes he wereth.

“ Whider trowe this mon, ha the wey take  
 He hath set is o fot is other to foren,  
 For non hithte that he hath ne syght me hym ner shake,  
 He is the sloweste mon that euer wes y-boren,  
 Wher he were o the feld pycchynde stake,  
 For hope of ys thornes to dutten is doren  
 He mot myd is twybyl other trous make  
 Other al is dayes werk ther were y-loren.

“ This ilke mon upon heh when er he were  
 Wher he were y the moone mone boren aut y-fed,  
 He leneth on his forke as a grey frere,  
 This crooked caynard sore he is adred,  
 Hit is mony day go that he was here,  
 Ichot of is ernde he noth nout ysped,  
 He hath hewe somwher a burthen of brere,  
 Therefore sum hayward hath taken ys wed.”

We may remark as curious, that in this *earliest* vestige of Puchsian (sit venia verbo) mythology, so many points should concur with the Alemannic modern poem, at p. 206, and which are but little heeded, or entirely omitted, in later accounts.

One of these is the cold which the poor wight feels,

“When the forst freeseth, much chele he byd,”  
with Hebel's

“Jetzt chuchet er in d'hand.”

His fear of falling—the inquiry as to where he was born and domiciled—the fruitlessness of his present efforts for profit—are all circumstances common alone to these two poems, and they are rarely, if ever, met with elsewhere, or at best isolated.

It is curious, however, that this attribute of thorns is found in the oldest mythology of Rome. It would, indeed, be an ominous exception if it were absent from perhaps the earliest traditions of which we have any certain or trustworthy accounts; and it is to Ovid that we owe this remarkable tradition. In this respect, I willingly join in the praise which the amatory bard receives from the author of an *Excursus on the Fasti*, in Lemaire's Paris edition, 8vo. 1822, p. 495: “Maxime Ovidio debeamus eas quas nobis de veteris Italiae mythis reliquit notitias et haud facile aliquis scriptor est, qui difficilis hujus nec tamen tenuis et infructuosae questionis, quae in veterum Latinorum ideis religiosis numinibus et mythis enarrandis et ab interpolatione graeca discernendis versatur, denuo excutiendae officium magis injungat.” Perhaps even unconsciously has Ovid embalmed, in his delightful verses, our indigenous myths of the bush, as attribute of Puch, though an archæological Sorites will be necessary to dis-

cover them. In the *Fasti*, lib. vi. v. 129, we have,

“Huic Janus *spinam* qua tristes pellere posset  
A Foribus noxas, hæc erat alba, dedit.”\*

and *Ibid.* v. 165 :—

“Virgaque Janalis *de spina* ponitur *alba*  
Qua lumen thalamis parva fenestra dabat.”

It is truly laughable to observe the difficulties these lines have caused the commentators, and the twistings and contortions they make to escape a dilemma, which their ignorance of the connexion of every creed and the archæology of their own, (for they are mostly Germans) has alone caused. Burman runs wildly into conjecture, and conjures up from his imagination, instead of *Janalis: Naialis*; and Heinsius takes a double venture in *Maialis*, or *Ramalis*; and this notwithstanding the additional mention of Janus in the verse above. In a disquisition, which was published in the 21st number of the Journal of the British Archæological Association, and which the scope of this work will require to be adduced (considerably enlarged) in a subsequent chapter, I proved, to the satisfaction of many learned friends, that Janus was Thor; and, as the universal deity

\* This curious circumstance of the potency of the thorn, placed at the door and marriage beds, is confirmed by Dioscorides, lib. i. 119 :—

“κλῶνας ἀντῆς θύραις ἢ θυρίοι προστεθέντας  
ἀποκρύνει τὰς τῶν φαρμακῶν κακουργίας.”

“Spinæ albæ frondes foribus adpositas avertere maleficia.”

of the north of Germany, must have been our Puch, or Bog, under another name; consequently the thorn, or bush, was a legitimate appendage to Janus. It is even a question whether the name of Thorn, in German, *Dorn*, or, in the hard pronunciation, *Torn*, identical with many variations of Thor; as Torn, a tower, in low German; Thor, a gate, Janus; and Thür, a portal, may not have suggested the name for the tree, particularly as two species are found of it in nature, called, from their colour, *nigra* and *alba*, black and white thorn, exactly answering to the duality of Zernebog and Bielbog. There are other verbal assonances in this word, which have been fruitful in suggestions to our forefathers; thus, *torn and tattered* called up the idea of Ben Jonson's *ragged colt*, and the German *Taterman*, and that bare-breached imp of all our legendaries; thence the reason of Puch refusing new clothes, and leaving those houses where such are offered; for to accept would be to destroy his name—he would be no longer tattered and torn, and consequently lose his very being, which is, after all, but verbal. But we cannot at present pursue this subject further, except to point out also the verbal congruence of the Latins in *torus*, the marriage bed, which the *thorn* protected.

This testimony, from the competent authority of Ovid, is sufficient to assure us that the thorn and thorn-bush had a mythic signification in the earliest mythologies of Italy, before the obtruded deities of Hesiod, of Homer, and of Greece, had extirpated, amongst the Romans, nearly every

trace of their ancient creed. In this belief I am happy to be able to adduce, from the "Excursus" already cited, a further passage of its learned author, at p. 497 :—

"Inde simul apparet cur ipsi veteres (Romani) in mythis et causis a quibus feriæ et ceremoniæ domesticæ repetendæ essent, adeo in diversa abierunt quum vetera illa monumenta vel deperdita essent vel ob inconditam linguam vix intelligerentur. Græcis autem fabulis literæ romanæ tunc potissimum citra dubium obrutæ sunt, quum Græcis poetis et scriptoribus vertendis Romani ingenium exercere cœpissent et tunc maxime quum pro *Crono Saturnum*, pro *Rhea Opem*, pro *Baccho Liberum*, factum est ut mythi Græci ad hæc nomina domestica referrentur."\*

It is not, therefore, surprising that we find in

\* To show the still stronger connexion of Bacchus with Puch, a consideration of the synonym Liber, here adduced, for the classic deity, may be added to other conformities at p. 102. The word Liber, in reference to the deity, has found no better definition than the vague : quia mentem curis liberat; but the question is, why the curious signification of a book should also attach to the same word. But when we find our English book is, in German, Buch, or, in the Saxon pronunciation, *Puch*, and that the Buche (Beech) is the acknowledged root of these Theotisc denominations, according to Lepsius, because the first *leaves* (of themselves only referable to a tree, as, in German, *Blätter*) were made from the soft and smoothed shingles of a beech tree, we find a more plausible derivation for Liber in the assonance, if not in the identity of Bacchus and Puch, and of Puch with Buche, and Buch with Liber. The terms for book and beech coalesce in the Swedish word *Boc*; on which see what will be adduced, in the next chapter, on the legal term *Boc-land*. To *spell*, as the first *step* towards reading a book, is identical with the *spell* of a ladder, which were small beechen staves, transversely fixed on a staff to step upon, and, when inscribed with the letters of the age, became the *spells*, or rune-staffs of the magician.

the name of the northern *Ber-stücks*, the bundle of thorns, or *sticks*, and in this again a verbal agreement with the most potent divinity of ancient Italy, Stygius or *Styx*:—"Stygius Timor et Deus ille Deorum," vide p. 37:—for we have other indications of his veneration and presence in their most ancient symbols and usages. The *Fasces*, the ancient ornament and insignia of the Etrurian kings, copied in Rome, and afterwards transferred to the consuls, as outward badges of office, was nothing but a bundle of *sticks*, and the axe protruding from it, that the double-faced Janus\* might be symbolically figured upon it, was the

\* As a confirmation of this idea of *Fasces*, may be taken the following passage from Rammler's *Mythologie*, p. 48:—"The Romans worshipped, in the earliest times, the lance, as the symbol of Mars, and the Scythians under the form of a sword; for they placed a sword on the top of a large bundle of *sticks*, (auf eine grosse Lage von Reis bündeln), and made the offering of a horse, which was peculiarly sacred to the god of war, or sometimes of other beasts, and even of men, for which prisoners of war were generally chosen."

The story of a peasant finding a sword, which he brought to Atila, who accepted the omen, and the god that was to lead him to the conquest of the west, is well known.

So Herodotus (Gaisford's edition, Melpomene, cap. 62), tells us the Scythians worshipped an old scimitar of iron, on a mound where the ravages of the elements were carefully repaired every year, and which was dedicated to Mars. "To this scimitar they offer yearly sacrifices of horses and cattle, and present more sacrifices to these symbols than to all the rest of the gods. Of the prisoners taken, one in every hundred was sacrificed, by making libations of wine on the heads of these victims, and then slaughtering them over a bowl. As soon as this has been done, they carry up the bowl to the top of the faggot pile, and pour the blood over the scimitar."

bipennis, which on medals is often put for the Bifrons; and it is curious that the name of this axe was *securis*, which scarcely any one can doubt is the same as *securus*, and which, though many may think might have been suggested by the tying together of these sticks fast, (hence "Lictor quasi Ligator"), as the subjective, may, it cannot reasonably be doubted, as well have been suggested by the objective view of becoming or being made fast or secure from all bodily harm. These sticks are still continued as badges of the highest offices in the State. The gold and silver Sticks in waiting on the person of the sovereign, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl Marshal, all carry in their wands elegant and convenient emblems of their offices, and signs of the earliest species of our faith. The truncheon of the general is the same, somewhat shortened, for the convenience of command; but the *thyrsus* of the Bacchanalian is its greatest elongation, as its name connects it with the Tyr or Thor of the north. The word Fas itself is fruitful in etymological results, (*vide* also p. 101).

Pomponius Mela (ii. 1) confirms this account; and Solinus, (cap. 20)—"Populis istis deus Mars est, pro simulacris enses colunt."

Juvenal Sat. x. 35, in,—

"Prætexta et trabææ, fasces, lectica, tribunal,"

includes the two mystic insignia of Roman office, the *trabea* (beam or balk), in its truest sense, though subsequently but typical, as a broad purple stripe, and to be explained hereafter; and the *fasces*: as in also Sat. viii. v. 259, alluding to Servius Tullius:—

"Ancilla natus, trabeam et diadema Quirini,  
Et Fasces meruit Regum ultimus ille bonorum."

Its original meaning is permitted, *allowed*. Fasti would thence be *hallowed* days, *e. g.*, *Dies fasti*; and the verbal change in both languages is only the usual transition from active to passive. Fascinatio, fastigium, are derivatives, and more especially *Fascia*, any feminine bandage, as a fillet for the head, or a girl's stays; thence an infant's swaddling clothes; but the most accordant word is our Faschine, a bundle of sticks; and we may choose whether this was cause or consequence of the peculiar worship of a domestic deity Fascinus, of whom we have, s. v., the following description in Smith's *Mythological Dictionary* :—

“*Fascinus*, an early Latin divinity, and identical with Mutinus, or Tutinus. He was worshipped as the protector from sorcery and witchcraft and evil demons, and represented in the form of a phallus, the genuine name for which is fascinum. This symbol being believed to be most efficacious in averting all evil influences. He was especially invoked to protect women in child-bed, and their offspring (*Plin. Hist. Nat.*, xxviii. 4, 7); and women wrapped up in the toga prætexta used to offer up sacrifices in the chapel of Fascinus, (*Paul. Diac.*, p. 103). His worship was under the care of the Vestals, and generals who entered the city in triumph had the symbol of Fascinus fastened under their chariots, that he might protect them from envy (*medicus invidiæ*); for envy was believed to exercise an injurious influence on those who were envied. (*Plin. l. c.*) It was a custom with the Romans, when they praised anybody, to add the word præfiscine, or præfiscine, which seems an invocation of Fascinus, to prevent the praise turning out injurious to the person on whom it was bestowed.”—L (eonhard) S (chmidt.)

Continuing this idea, we may remark on a curious provincial expression of Grimm's (*D. M.*, p. 874), where, deducing the identity of Hächel-



bärend with Wuotan, or Woden, he says:—"Hachelbärend *fätscht* im Sturme und Regen durch den Thüringer Wald, den Harz, am liebsten durch den Hackeleinen Wald zwischen Halberstadt Gronungen und Derenberg." Here *fätscht* can be nothing but *fatidicere*, to predict as Wuotan or the wild huntsman coming ill, and, personified, is both really and phonically identical with the Scottish *Fetch*, one's double or eidolon, frequently the precursor or foreteller of the death of the party; also very probably the parent of the word to *fetch*.\* It would be curious to trace the word *fetisch* in its migrations into Africa, and thence with its unhappy natives, torn from their homes, to our West Indian colonies. Johnson, from Addison, defines our English "fetch," "to bring to any state by some powerful operation," which is exactly the idea which fills the mind of the Negro when using his fetish.

Before entirely closing these testimonies to ancient superstitions on the Bush and Thorn, I shall adduce another, which is not generally known. In the Journal of the Archæological Institute, vol. v., p. 67, is the engraving of a seal, with this explanation:—

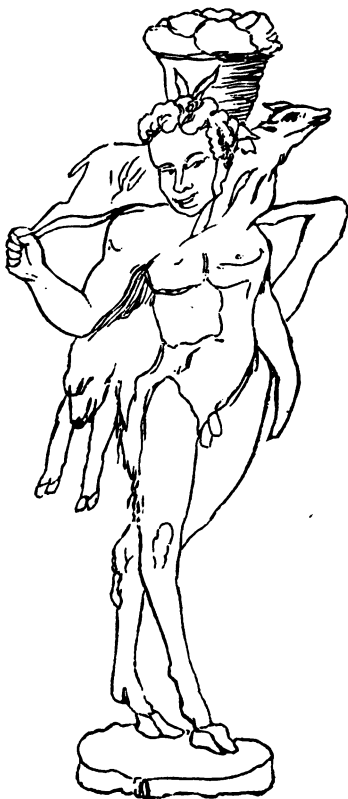
"The device appears to be founded on the ancient popular legend, that a husbandman who had stolen a bundle of thorns from a hedge, was, in punishment of this theft, carried up to the moon. Alexander Necham, a writer of the twelfth century, in commenting on the dispersed (? distorted) shadow in the moon, thus alludes to the vulgar belief: 'Nonne novisti

\* So in Halliwell's *Brand*, vol. iii., p. 238, we have a *fetch-light*, or *dead-man's candle*.

quid vulgus vocat rusticum in luna portantem spinas, unde quidam vulgariter loquens ait:

“‘Rusticus in Luna quem sarcina deprimet una  
Monstrat per spinas nulli prodesse rapinas.’”

The figure here inserted is copied from Beger's *Thesaurus Brandenburgensis*, vol. iii. p. 257, and



engraved by Montfaucon (*Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. i. part ii., fig. clxviii. fig. 3). Strange as it may appear, it seems to me an exact antique representation of the Man in the Moon, translated by the modern idea of his bearing sticks; and it will, I think, appear so also to my readers when its attributes have received a verbal exegesis. Beger's interpretation is as follows:—"Notandum autem vanam esse distinctionem inter Satyros et Pana quam Hofmanus in Lexico habet, quod scilicet satyri nec fistulam nec pedum nec pellem habuerint; omnia enim hæc in altero Galeræ Giustinianæ aperte visuntur, qui tamen et ipse pedem gestat. Gestat et hinnulum, excepit archæophilus, et nisi fallor calathum fructibus refertum." The *kid* borne upon the shoulders of this Roman image finds its interpretation, curiously, and perhaps alone, in our own language, in the double meaning which we give to the word *kid*, either as the young of a goat, or as a bundle of sticks; and as the soldier's *kit* it means the contents of his knapsack, as borne upon his shoulders (*continens pro contento*). But the verbal exposition does not end here. The basket of fruit here designating the Amalthea, or horn of plenty, is represented in our modern vocabulary by the milkmaid's *kit*—that inexhaustible source of wealth and prosperity, even now, to millions, and more especially suitable, as such, for a pastoral people, whose entire riches were counted by their cattle, and when *pecus*, in its derivative *pecunia*, was their only idea of money. In the more abstruse features of the

ancient mythologies, this milking-kit became the modius or calathus of Jupiter.\*

In our other name for this milking-kit, as *Pail*, we have a very fruitful source of verbal or ideographic conformities: as the Roman sylvan god, *Pales*, whose rites, under the name of Palilia, Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 695 to 778) described at great length, we find the milking-pail mentioned as an attribute peculiarly agreeable to the goddess; for he makes her feminine, whereas Varro makes him masculine, this difference but picturing the earliest stage of all theogonies, when the active and passive generative powers were both centered in the same being, and thence suggestive of a root equivalent to the Greek *παλαιός* (ancient, the ancient of days). Ovid, after describing various ceremonies agreeable to his divinity, amongst which, v. 700,

“Certè ego transilui positas ter in ordine flammæ,”

the jumping over a bonfire, the origin of our own similar practice on May-day (undecim Kal. Mai),

\* The conjunction of the milking-pail borne on the head, with the fairies, is still found in Norway, as we may see from the following quotation from W. Chambers' *Tracings in the North*, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, June 8th, 1850:—“The whole race of under-ground people, the dwarfs excepted, live by grazing cattle. When the shielings are deserted by their human brethren at harvest time, they move into them. Whole troops of these gray men may often be seen at night time employed in their pastoral avocations, driving before them herds of cattle, while the females of the race carry milk pails upon their heads and the children in their arms.”

on which the milk-maids' garlands, originally the decorated milk-maids' pails, played, till lately, such a conspicuous figure, continues, at v. 719—

“Adde dapes *mulctramque* suas ; dapibusque resectis  
Sylvicolam tepido lacte precare Palon.”

But, besides the milking-pail, we have two other modes of spelling the same sound—the English *Pale*, and the Latin *Palus*—the first as the *Pales* of a park (also *Palus*, in Latin) brings us round again to the idea of *Sticks*; in German *Pfahl* *Stock*; and to this may be referred the mythical *Stock am Eisen* at *Wien*, mentioned p. 20.

But the other meaning which the Roman gave the word, under a slight variation of the vowels, in *Palus*, a marsh, is not without a considerable bearing upon their mythology. *Pan*, it is well known, is considered as the inventor of the *Pandean Pipe*, the *Syrinx* (thence the sweetly-singing *Syrens*, as an offset of the idea); but as this instrument was only an assemblage of reeds, to say these were the offspring of a marsh, or *Palus*, was but clothing a natural effect, under the allegorical idea of their being found out by *Pan*. In poetical personifications of natural objects, invention or discovery substituted for production is a necessary and elegant *prosopopeia*. Even the common notion of the name of *Pales*, from a similar word, signifying straw, would only confirm this opinion. I shall not at present revert to my belief that the famous *Pallas Athene* had her first name rather from some consequence of the same idea, than from the very indefinite *παλλω*,

to shake, nor that *Pallidus* was suggested by the lunar considerations by which Pales is identified with the moon or her attributes. We might heap up quotations from the writers of all countries, calling the moon pale and watery; or, for other reasons, e. g. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act ii. sc. 2 :—

“Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,  
Pale in her anger, washes all the air.”

But a full consideration will be given to them, and Ovid's *Anna Perenna*, in a future chapter.

Another conformity with the calathus and pail, as universally found on the head, is its more unusual denomination of Polos. In the British Museum is a statue of Fortuna, with the Horn of Plenty on her arm, and the Modius or Polos on her head. This might suggest many *capital* allusions, which I at present forbear.

That these representations were common and popular, we may learn from Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, article *Asilia*, where, in the one woodcut, is a very similar figure. It is without the modius or basket, but with a wooden pole or yoke, such as is held by the man on both shoulders, or more commonly on one, and used for carrying burthens. Smith also mentions its frequent occurrence in works of Grecian art, and gives two other specimens of a lamp and a satirical gem. The latter represents an emaciated beau, typified by a grasshopper carrying an offering to a phallus, which, however, does not appear here, though in

the original.\* This asellus is, in fact, the common

\* The agreement of these classical representations with the still prevalent Swedish popular belief enshrined in the Edda (*vide* p. 201), must be apparent on the slightest consideration. A different size of the bucket may readily be conceded to distant and differing nations, which would suggest and require variety of representation in the mode of carrying. The Romans gave two buckets to one carrier; the Swedes attribute two carriers to one bucket; but the former also adopted two bearers, when the sacred ancilia were borne in procession (*vide* Rich, s. v. *Ancile*); though I question whether the oblong form, which no *author* distinctly notes, was orthodox. The near correspondence of verbal form, in *Ancla*, or *Antia*, a bucket (Sueton. in Tib. cap. li. : "In antliam condemnato;" and Mart. i. 9: "Curva laboratas antlia tollit aquas") would admit suspicion of a round form, and of an accordance with our bucket, or kit, in these ancient and mythic Palladia of Rome: they were also borne by priests expressly named Arvales, or pastoral. *Anclare* is an old word, meaning to drink; *Antia*, as forelocks, would identify them with the Calathus, the forelocks of Saturn, and our corn bushel, (*vide* p. 250, note).

In England, we have the Bucket-Bearer introduced even into our Christian architecture, and its most sacred offices. In the very curious work by my friend Mr. Planchè, called the "*Pursuivant of Arms*," we have, at p. 118, a singular figure of a boy bearing two slouches (of water possibly), slung across a stick over his shoulder, which the author brings in elucidation of the water budget, as it is called, so prominent in our heraldry. But the axe which also accompanies the figure proves its mythical character; this might in a Roman ritual symbolize the *Securis* of the Lictors (*vide* p. 226), or the sacred *Ascia*, which is so prominently exhibited on such a number of Roman altars, and which, in the Scandinavian traditions, is supposed to be represented by the mighty hammer of Thor, as the all-crushing *Miölnar*; but in our traditions it turns this Bucket-Bearer into the Man in the

pole or yoke by which the milkmen carry their pails ; but even this, in its German name of *tracht*, from *tragen*, (our drag and draw), carries us verbally back again to the Greek *τραγος*, the Goat, the Bock or Bog, and in the On as wild ass, also to the Moon, with the implement needed for his brush-wood or thorn-thefts ; or, as Hebel has it (vide p. 206) :—

“ Und nimt e Biel und tummlet si.”

His Bill he took with quickest haste.

Mr. Planchè's figure is copied from *Skelton's Antiquities of Oxfordshire* (imperial 4to. Oxon. 1823), Chadlington Hundred, p. 5 ; but he has not taken the accessories, which are curious, and confirmatory of an ancient and mythic origin ; and it is therefore the more to be lamented that these are given, even in the original, imperfectly ; for to the right of the circular plinth, which is the form of this most ancient piece of sculpture, half the figure of a centaur is shown, with bow and arrow—a monster also frequently drawn in the “ Bulletin Monumental,” from capitals and other ornaments in the oldest churches of France. These latter are also water deities, though the proof cannot now be exhibited. In Raspe's *Description of Tassie's Gems*, I meet with the water-bucket, in conjunction with Pan, as Kid-Bearer, in more than one instance. No. 8424 is copied from a gem in the British Museum ; and what is called a Victimarius has the goat on his shoulders, but a water-bucket in his hand. So also 8426 (plate xv.), the same subject, with this implement, and a Janus, or Thor's Temple, before which the figure stands, and on both, votive tablets with a goat's full face, as lucky omen ; but on this plate is a much more elaborate execution of the same idea (8435), from the Colonna Cabinet, at Rome, where, in a sacrifice of eight persons, principally females, we have a Victimarius, with a kid in the mystic Vannus, borne on the head ; and the same person drags after him a *tragos*, or goat, by the horns, answering to the tablets in the other numbers. The water-bucket is also present, borne separately by one of the women, as its



Catholic Onuphrius. One or two obscure places in the classics will, I think, receive a perfect elucidation from this view of these Asilia, or perhaps more properly Aselli. In the *Fasti* of Ovid, lib. vi. v. 287, in describing the rites to Vesta:—

Amphora. To revert to our Fount, the neighbourhood is not without verbal assonances, which would imply the knowledge of the milking-kit, and memorials, perhaps, of these various kids. We have, in a neighbouring hundred, Kidlington and Kiddington; and in the nearest borders of Berkshire we have Kingston Bag-puze, and Broughton Poggs, (see p. 211.) In “Kiddington” we find, also, two very ancient founts, of which engravings are given in *Warton’s Antiquities of Kiddington* (4to. Lond. 1815); and though the details of the sculptures are not shown, one brought from Islip, the birthplace of Edward the Confessor, now in a gentleman’s garden, must be very ancient. A strong tradition exists in the parish, evidenced by an inscription, that it was the fount in which the Confessor was baptised, about 1010; possibly, also, his father, Ethelred, and the whole line of his Christian ancestry. This would carry us up to the very earliest ages of Christianity in Britain, when ancient, venerated forms, were not yet deemed objectionable in the new religion; or the copy may have been closely taken from a Roman original, without thought or attention to its mythical development. I should have worked in the substance of this long note into my text, only as Mr. Planché had not thought it necessary to give the *name* of the author from whom he had taken his figure, I wished to examine it in the original; but the deplorable practice of cataloguing works in the British Museum solely by the names of their authors, prevented me finding it till the text was printed. Had, as in all the large libraries of the Continent, the titles of the books there been arranged in a systematic order of subjects, on turning to the division—Topography, Great Britain, England, Oxfordshire—the book would have been readily found, and considerable personal trouble and loss of time would have been spared me.

“ Ante focos olim longis considerare scamnis  
 Mos erat ; et mensæ credere adesse deos.  
 Nunc quoque, quum fiunt antiquæ sacra Vacunæ  
 Ante Vacunales stantque sedentque focos.  
 Venit in hos annos aliquid de more vetusto.  
 Fert missos Vestæ pura patella cibos.  
 Ecce, coronatis panis dependet *asellis* ;  
 Et velant scabras florida sarta molas.”

The covering a table with viands, the supposing the goddess to partake, the offering Vesta food in the clean plate, all induce me to look upon this passage as applicable to these northern Berstucks, though perhaps more in accordance with the meaning than the syntax ; and the crowned kids of Pan hang down from her, a view that appears corroborated by the line from Propertius, lib. ii. carm. i. 20 :—

“ Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat *asellis*.”

On the first passage the commentator, Neapolis, thought panem here to mean bread, and panem dependentem a cake hanging on all sides round about the head, like a slouched hat.

The same figure, as in Smith's Dictionary, or the above Asilia,\* is found also in Rich's Com-

\* It is a curious and confirmatory circumstance, that the real Asellus is the favourite animal introduced into the Bacchanalian processional orgies, usually bearing the drunken Silenus ; and as Silenus is but the masculine ΣΙΑΗΝΗ, the Luna of the Latins, with the sibilant, we have therein combined the man with the bush ; and the moon, with her wine-bibbing propensities :—

“ The Man in the Moon drinks claret.”

I therefore willingly adduce the authority of Natalis Comes (lib. v. p. 267 a), to the honours of the veritable Ass :

panion, where it is said to have been copied from a fictile vase; and I think to this kid we may refer (verbally certainly) the chest, or *κίστρα*, borne in the Eleusinian Mysteries by the canephoræ, as an integral part of the ceremony, and as fitting a representation of these aselli as of our domestic milking kit. It is in Virgil the mystica Vannus Iacchi thus is pertinently attributed to the Bock, or Goat God, as *κισσοῦ* is the ivy, dedicated peculiarly to his worship. Rich, s. v. *Vannus*, very justly observes, it is "a large and shallow wicker basket, employed for winnowing corn in still weather, *but which was carried on the shoulder in the ceremonies of Bacchus*, containing the sacrificial utensils, as shown in the annexed figure from a bas-relief in terra-cotta (Soph. Frag. 724; Virg. *Georg.* i. 166)." The Greek term also signifies a cradle made out of a winnowing-basket, in which the ancients *used to deposit their infants, as an omen of future wealth and prosperity*. (Schol. vet. ad Callimachum Jov. 48): "Jupiter and Mercury are said to have been thus cradled." As a chest we may refer to the same author's article: "*Cista*, the mystic cyst of Bacchus: in one were found, in another small case, *a model of a kid and of a panther*;"\* a patera,

"Non minor tamen gratia illi asino habenda est quem Naupliæ incolæ lapideum erexerunt quia putationem virium adinvenit, quam Baccho," &c.

\* This name is another of the ligatures by which the vulgar superstitions of all countries are connected: as an invariable quadruped accompaniment of Bacchus, the Pantherus gives us, perhaps, the united names of Pan and

a ligula, a sharp-pointed instrument like the stylus, and a piece of metal of triangular form, the pyramid *πυραμος*, mentioned by Clemens of Alexandria, as one of the articles usually contained in these cases." Another cista has three figures on the lid: Bacchus in the centre, with a robe covered with stars (Nyctelius Pater Ov. a. am. i. 567), at which time the orgies were celebrated; and a Faun in the Nebris (fawn's skin) on each side of him."

In Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. i. part 2, pl. cciv., is the curious symbol of a corded bale, or banded parcel, found on the bas-relief of a Roman tomb, over the figure of Spes; and the same emblem is found, *ibid.* plate clxxxviii. p. 276, over a figure of Sylvanus, towards the shoulder; as also in another part, in a relief of the horned Bacchus; this has puzzled\* all antiquaries for a

*Thor*; whilst Pan is subsequently found as a title of honour and dignity, perhaps of worship, for the Slavonian nations, as our Puch is in Britain.

\* Mr. James Yates, in his curious and learned treatise, "*Textrinum Antiquum*" (8vo. Lond. 1843), has, in plate iii. figs. 1 & 2, given a representation of the two first, but unaccompanied by the figures to which these are attached; and at p. 107, he considers them merely as different specimens of the manner in which the Romans packed their wool-bales; that is, either by ropes or leather thongs; and their symbolical meaning, which I think their relative position to the figures sufficiently implies, the diligent author has either overlooked, or not thought necessary to the elucidation of his subject. This Modius, has, however, another phonic representative in the lock of hair (reminding us of Elf-lock, Warlocks, &c.), which alone surmounts the forehead of old Time, or Saturn, as may be proved from its German name of Büschel. This

solution. If they, however, had considered the nature of the back-bearing deities, Hackelbärend of the north, and the Sylvan deities to which it is attached, they would have found no difficulty in looking upon it only as another form of the bush, or burthen, borne by the man in the moon. The Kid-Bearer, as the Good Shepherd carrying the lamb of his fold on his shoulder, was eagerly embraced by the earliest Christians as their favourite type, induced, no doubt, by this heathen pattern, as an equal, and, in time, happily a successful rival. In the Supplement to *Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, we find a somewhat profane allusion, which, however, proves the general attribution of things borne on the back to fortune and religion, where a hump is called Hellie Lamb (Holy Lamb), and this natural defect supposed a presage of good luck. Is not, in fact, the disputed "My Lord," vulgarly given to all hump-backed people, but a remnant of popular veneration for all such dorsal deformity, from its conformity to the figure of their ancient gods, now turned into a term of irony and contempt?

word Adelung, s. v., justly derives from Busch (Bush), which would represent the leafy honours of our Puck, but also the Modius of Jupiter, as our *Corn-Bushel*. Following this clue, the *Peck* measure may, perhaps, be thought but a reminiscence of the Pack or Puck, on the head or shoulders; and that no link may be wanting for Saturn's Lock, the ancient Germans had a deity, Sater, of whom the Saterland, a district of primitive manners and aboriginal dialect, in the centre of Westphalia, is a still existing evidence. If preferred, this deity may be the connecting link betwixt the Italian Saturn and our Satyr, as a Berstuck.

As a remarkable adaptation of an earlier popular favourite to the new opinions, and that no doubt may remain on the origin of the "Bonus Pastor," "Le Bon Pasteur," I refer to the figure of Pan, in the Tomb of the Nasones, described by Bellori, pt. xxii., in strictest conformity with a figure found under the Christian denomination, in a catacomb chapel, in which so much of the pagan image is still retained, as is denoted by the Syrinx. The animal thrown across the shoulder of Pan is a kid; whilst this object is changed by Christians to the lamb. The figure is copied from Bellori, by Maitland, in his *Church in the Catacombs* (8vo. Lond. 1846), p. 257; and in the translation of Didron's *Christian Iconography* (Bohn's *Antiqu. Lib.* vol. i. p. 339) less carefully. Maitland's observations are so pertinent that I adduce them, compressed:

"The Good Shepherd was a type much valued by the early Church, and the character in which they most delighted to represent our Lord. In the tomb of the Nasones, a heathen family of eminence in Rome, may be seen, among many mythological paintings, the figure of a shepherd, with a sheep on his shoulders and a crook in his hand, surrounded by the four Seasons. *What was intended by this heathen painting is not clear; but by a slight alteration the same composition was converted into a Bonus Pastor by Christian artists. The change, however, was slow; the Pan's pipe remained for some time in the hand of the Chief Shepherd, and the Roman dress was seldom abandoned.*"\*

\* The Lamb borne by the good Shepherd has left traces in our vulgar belief at the present day: our shepherd's account it an ill omen when the first lamb of the season shows any thing to him, when first seen, but its face—just the

What this graphic idea of Good Shepherd was, is now verbally the name of a saint in the Romish Calendar of some celebrity, viz. Onuphrius, a hermit of the fourth century, represented as "a hairy man clothed with leaves, and crown and sceptre, gold and silver at his feet." This is evident, from the syllable *on*, which, lengthened in Onager, is the wild ass. Oon, in *Calmet's Dictionary*, is an ass; and is well known in our Anglo-Saxon history in the angry exclamation, "*You oaf! you oon!*" applied to our good King Alfred by the angry dame with whom he had sought temporary shelter, on greater cares intent than minding the cakes on the hearth committed to his tending. In his name this canonized Roman hermit would exactly answer to the Latin Aselli; and though he has cast the burthen at his feet, he has preserved his rough and hairy appearance. Of similar import, though under a classic guise, is the bronze statuette of Hercules and Cupid, found in London, and now in the possession of William Crofter, Esq., of Gravesend. However, the bag in front, already mentioned at page 120, depending from the neck, gives it totally a mythological sig-

position in which the Bonus Pastor carries his pastoral burthen. (Vide *Notes and Queries*, March 27, 1852, p. 293). But I am informed by my friend, C. R. Smith, that the Earl of Londesborough has lately made the acquisition of an ancient bronze statue of a Satyr, with the kid carried in a *poke* on its back, and just showing its face only over the shoulder of the figure. It is, however, dubious which is oldest, this shepherd superstition, or these figures—which was cause, which consequence.

nification, and it can only be referred to this class of Aselli under a varying type. The Telesphorus of the Romans is this Onuphrius under a different name and a less chaste idea. The great favour of St. Christopher in the Catholic church is solely traceable to the holy burthen borne on his back.

There is a curious page in our popular traditions, repeated at different times and in distant places, in very nearly identical words, and with circumstances so corresponding for remote localities, that this agreement alone must have cast a doubt over their truth, if our indigenous myths had not hitherto been considered too ridiculous for investigation, too absurd for study. The legend of a Pedlar's Acre, the story of a Pedlar and his Pack, is a well-known tradition at Lambeth in Surrey, and at Swaffham in Norfolk; in both these places the relation is circumstantial and exact; but I think I can bring at least traces of a similar fable at Barton-upon-Humber in Lincolnshire, and at Bowness in Cumberland. If a conformity in the same or similar details of a story that embraces so wide a spread of country can be established, it may, I think, be fairly admitted that a general principle, grounded on some rational basis, and common to the whole people, would lurk beneath it, and that its adaptation to one or two localities by a frivolous tale is but the refuge of ignorance, seeking to account for what had become incomprehensible from the lapse of ages and the difference of manners. The Christian legend is old, and has been perpetuated in the metropolitan church, by a representation



of the supposed pedlar in a glass painting, which may form an excuse for modern acquiescence and belief. But from the following extract from Lyson's *Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 277, which at the same time gives the story, it will be seen that it has not been entirely unchallenged:—

“In one of the windows (of Lambeth church) over the nave, is the figure of a Pedlar and his Dog, painted on glass,\* the tradition concerning which is, that it was intended for a person of that occupation, who bequeathed a piece of land to the parish, now called Pedlar's Acre. It has been suggested (*Hist. of Lambeth*, p. 3), and with great probability, that this figure was intended rather as a rebus upon the name of the benefactor, than as a description of his trade. In Swaffham church, in Norfolk, is the portrait of John Chapman, a great benefactor to that parish. The device of a pedlar and his pack occurs in several parts of the church, which circumstance has given rise to nearly the same tradition as at Lambeth.”

The latter legend is told more at large in

\* The figure is engraven in Smith's Etchings, who says that a condition of the gift of the field was, “that his portrait, and that of his dog, be perpetually preserved in painted glass, in one of the windows of the church.” I have not been able to examine the recently restored church, to see if the figure be still retained.

Whilst these pages are passing through the press, I find in the *Builder* of the 6th March, 1852, the following passage, which ascertains the matter. Speaking of the renovated church at Lambeth, the writer says:—“On inquiring for the ‘Pedlar,’ we learnt from Mr. Taylor, one of the church wardens, that the glass is in safe custody, and that it has been kept out in order that they may have such a *stained glass pedlar and his dog* as the best talent of the day can furnish. There is, of course, no objection to this, but they must put back the old pedlar too.”

*Bloomfield's Norfolk*, vol. v. p. 506; but, from the particularity of the matter, I cannot abridge it. It is contained in a letter from the learned Roger Twysden, and therefore well deserving every attention:—

“The story of the Pedlar of Swaffham Market is, in substance, this:—That dreaming, one night, if he went to London he should certainly meet with a man upon London Bridge, who would tell him good news. He was so perplexed in his mind, that till he set out upon his journey he could have no rest. To London, therefore, he hastes, and walked upon the bridge for some hours, where, being espied by a shopkeeper, and asked what he wanted, he answered: ‘You may well ask me the question, for truly (quoth he) I am come hither upon a very vain errand,’ and so told the story of his dream which occasioned the journey; whereupon the shopkeeper replied: ‘Alas! good friend, I might have proved myself as very fool as thou art, for ’tis not long since I dreamt that at a place called Swaffham Market, in Norfolk, dwells one John Chapman, a pedlar, who hath a tree in his backside, under which is buried a pot of money; now, therefore, if I should have made a journey thither, to dig for such hidden treasure, judge you whether I should not have been counted a fool?’ To whom the pedlar replied, cunningly: ‘Yes, verily. I will therefore return home and follow my business, not heeding such dreams henceforward.’ But when he came home (being satisfied that his dream was fulfilled), he took occasion to dig in that place, and accordingly found a large pot full of money,\* which he prudently

\* In a work professing to reconcile our own with foreign traditions, it is impossible to pass over the entire conformity of this second story, thus far, with every particular, in *Volks Märchen* of Musæus, called *Stumme Liebe*: the dream—the Weser bridge, the scene of its solution—the substituted dream, by which that was brought about—are all exactly the same in both stories; though the improbability that the Teuton ever heard of Lambeth or Swaffham, makes it almost certain that he only borrowed from a native tale. But

concealed, putting the pot amongst the rest of his brass. After a while it happened, that one who came to his house, and beholding the pot, observed an inscription upon it, which, being in Latin, he interpreted it, that under that there was another, twice as good.\* Of this inscription the pedlar was before ignorant, or, at least, minded it not; but when he heard the meaning of it, he said: 'Tis very true, in the shop where I bought this pot stood another under it, which was twice as big.' But, considering that it might lead to his profit to dig deeper in the same place where he found that, he fell to work again, and discovered such a pot as was intimated by the inscription, full of old coins; notwithstanding all which, he so concealed his wealth, that the neighbours took no notice of it. But not long after, the inhabitants of Swaffham, resolving to re-edify their church, and having consulted the workmen about the charge, they made a levy, wherein they taxed the pedlar, according to no other rate than what they had formerly done. But he, knowing his own ability, came to the church and desired the workmen to show him their model, and to tell him what they esteemed the charge of the north aisle; which, when they told him, he presently undertook to pay them for building it; and not only that, but a very tall and beautiful tower steeple. This is the tradition of the inhabitants, and in testimony thereof there was then (?) his picture, with his wife and three children, in every window of the aisle, with an inscription running through the bottom of all these windows, viz. 'Orate pro bono Statu Johannis Chapman. . . . Uxor is ejus et Liberos suos qui quidem Johannis hanc Alam cum fenestris tecto et . . . fieri fecit.' It was in

Musæus' *Volks Märchen* deserve to be read also by every one who would gain a knowledge of tales from Fatherland in their purest dialect and most agreeable style.

\* The general relation gives this inscription as a doggerel rhyme, thus:—

“Where this stood, is another twice as good;”

Or,

“Under me doth lie, another much richer than I.”

Henry VII.'s time, but the year I now remember not (from Sir Roger Twisden's Remembrances), my notes being left with Mr. William Sedgwick, who triched the pictures, he being then with me. In that isle is his (Chapman's) seat, of an antique form, and on each side the entrance the statue of the pedlar, of about one foot length, with his pack on his back, very artificially cut.

"This was sent me from Mr. Wm. Dugdale, of Blyth Hall, in Warwickshire, dated 29th January, 1652, 1653, which I have since learnt from others to be most true.

"ROGER TWYSDEN."

In effect, the same has been found in the *Histoires admirables de Nostre Temp*, par Simon Goulart, imprimées à Geneve, en 1614, tom. iii. p. 366: "Et Johannis Fungeri Etimologicum Latin. Græc. 1110 & 1111." Thus far Bloomfield, who has merely copied the relation, verbatim, from T. Hearne's Appendix to *Caius Vindiciae*, appendix, p. LXXXIV.

The industrious Bloomfield, after having given these particulars (fol. ed. vol. iii. p. 507), expresses his surprise that such considerable persons as Twysden and Dugdale should patronise such a monkish legend and tradition, savouring so much of the cloister. He also gives some account of the appearance of the carving now (he printed in 1769), which justly disproves the common tale:—

"The seat of the pedlar observed by Dugdale, in his time, to be in the north isle, was taken down, with others, some years past, when the greatest part of the church, with the east end of the said isle, was new-seated and paved in a modern way; but in the north transept there is now a patched piece of wood-work, collected out of the fragments of antient stalls and seats, and here united. (*Some antient inscriptions, not material, are then copied.*) In the middle of

this work, and between the inscriptions, is twice represented the effigies of a man as busied in his shop, with a mark of an I and C conjoined, near it, probably for *John Chapman and Catherine* his wife; and the figure of a woman also carved in two places, and looking over the half-door of a shop. This work is supported on each side by the heads of the founder's seat, on both which, near the summit, is a pedlar, carved with a pack upon his shoulders; and below him, near the bottom, a figure *which is commonly said to be a dog*, but from his being muzzled, and a chain running across his back, is much *more likely to prove a bear*, and so it seems to be in the window of the north isle. The uppermost window but one of this isle is now the only one where the effigies are remaining. Here they are represented, in two places, in a suppliant posture, with close round purple gowns, turned up and robed with fur, tintured *Or*. He has a rich pilgrim's purse, or pouch, hanging from a curious belt, or girdle, and a little dagger; and from her right side hangs a string, or lace, at the end of which is something very like to the shield and arms of the ancient family of the *Knevets*, in Norfolk, but, I believe, nothing more than a buckle. That the north isle of the church was founded by John Chapman, who was churchwarden in 1462, is beyond dispute; *but that the founder was a pedlar is very improbable*, for the richness of his habit shows that he was a person of distinction. The truth of the case seems to be no more than this, the figures of a *pedlar*, and a man and woman busied in their shop, were, according to the low taste of that age, in a modest manner, to set forth the name of the *Founder*, CHAPMAN, trader or dealer. The word chapman, for a trader, is of great antiquity, and pedlars are often called by the name, even to this day, by some ancient people. Such rebusses are frequently met with in old works" (and he proceeds to the instance of an altar monument in the same church, bearing *boats and wimbles*), "as the rebus of John Botright, D.D., rector of the church, to whose memory it is erected."

Leaving, for the present, this ingenious conjecture, we will give the original Latin version of

the story, from *Funchero's Lex. Philologicum*, Lugduni, 1658, 4to. p. 779 (not 1110-1111, as Bloomfield cites) :—

“Rem, que contigit patrum memoria veram ita dignam relatu et sæpenumero mihi assertam ab hominibus fide dignis, apponam. Juvenis quidam in Hollandia, Dordraci videlicet, rem et patrimonium omne prodigerat conflatoque ære alieno non solvendo. Apparuit illi quidem per somnium monens ut se conferret Campos: ibi in ponte indicium aliquem facturum quid sibi, ut explicaret se posset illis difficultatibus, instituendum foret. Abiit eo cumque totum fere diem tristis et meditabundus deambulationi supra predictum pontem insumisset, misertus ejus publicus mendicans qui forte stipem rogans illic sidebat, *quid tu inquit ideo tristes?* Aperui illi somniator tristem et afflictam fortunam suam et qua de causa eo se contulisset: Quippe somni impulsu huc se profectum et expectare Deum velut a machina qui nodum hunc plus quam Gordium evolvat. At mendicus: *Adione tu demens et excors ut fretus somno, qua nihil inanius, huc arripes iter? Si hujusce modi nugis esset habenda fides passim et ego me conferre Dordracum ad eruendum thesaurum sub cynosbato defossum horti cujusdam (fuerat autem hic hortus patris somniatoris istius) mihi ibidem patefactum in somno.* Sublucuit alter et rem omnem sibi declaratam existimans, rediit magno cum gaudio Dordracum et sub arbore prædicta magnam pecuniæ vim invenit quæ ipsum liberavit (*ut ita dicam*) nexu inque lautiore fortuna, dissoluto omni ere alieno, collocavit.”

Bloomfield's reference to Goulard, tom. iii. p. 366, is correct. The title is, *Songe Merveilleuse*; but as the scene and circumstances are quite identical to the last, I shall not here recapitulate the account, particularly as it professes to be copied from the former.

We shall find in the following relation, at an opposite side of our island, a tradition, in which,

if a *pack*-saddle be put in lieu of the pedlar and his pack, many essential circumstances will be found common to both; and though the story of the dream is wanting, that is so evidently apocryphal, that it is perfectly unessential. It is taken from J. Clarke's *Survey of Lakes of Cumberland, &c.* (fol. Lond. 1787) p. 140:—

“There is a piece of painted glass on the windows on the north side of the church of Bowness, Westmoreland, called Carriers' Arms; which is a rope, a wantey hook, and five packing pricks, or skewers, being the implements which carriers use to fasten their packing-sheets together. The inhabitants have a tradition in this place, which, if true, will amply account for the Carriers' Arms, as they are called, in this north window. *Indeed, traditions have usually some foundation in truth*; and this has, besides, such an air of probability, that I am tempted almost to believe it. When this church wanted to be rebuilt, together with the chapels of St. Mary Holm, Ambleside, and Troutbeck, and Appelhwaite, which were all destroyed, *or rendered unfit for divine worship*, the parish was extremely poor; *the parishioners, at a general meeting, agreed that one church should serve the whole*. The next question was, where it should stand? The inhabitants of Under-Mill and Beck were for having it at Bowness; the rest thought, that as Troutbeck bridge was the centre of the parish, it should be built there. Several meetings in consequence were held, and many disputes and quarrels arose. At last a carrier proposed, that whoever would make the largest donation towards the building, should choose the situation of the church. An offer so reasonable would hardly be refused, and many gifts were immediately named. The carrier (who had gained a fortune by his business) heard them all, and at last declared he would cover the church with lead. This offer, which all the rest were unable or unwilling to outdo, at once decided the affair. The carrier chose the situation, and his arms (or more properly his implements) were painted on the north window of the church. Tradition

adds, that this man obtained the name of Bellman, from the bells worn by the fore-horse, which he first introduced here; the name of Bellman yet remaining in this place, and the singularity of this church being covered with lead, when all the rest hereabouts are covered with the beautiful slate, give additional probability to this story."

It would seem, from an essay in *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, April 6th, 1833, that these small dealers and chapmen in Scotland, who would formerly go under the general name of pedlars, approach, verbally, much nearer to the Puchs, of which I have supposed them the representatives. I find the Scotch call them *Peghlers*; and it would seem, like the English hawker, the modern representative upon a reduced scale of the ancient pedlar, he must be licensed.

In Hone's *Every-day Book* (vol. i. p. 1379), we have the following very curious relation, copied from Charlton's *History of Whitby*:—

"In 1140, the Lord of *Uglebarnby*, then William de Bruce; the Lord of Snayton, called Ralph de Percy, and a gentleman freeholder called Allotson, met to hunt a wild boar, at Eskdale, in Yorkshire, then belonging to Ledman, Abbot of Whitby, on 16th October, and pursued the boar, which had taken refuge and died in a hermitage; and bit the hermit so violently, that he subsequently died of his wounds; but before his decease he procured their pardon, upon the following penance: 'You and yours shall hold your land of the Abbot of Whitby thus—That upon Ascension-Day Even, you or some of you shall come to the wood of Strayheads, at sun-rising, and there the officer of the abbot shall sound his horn, that you may know where to find him, and deliver unto you, William de Bruce, ten stakes, eleven street stowers, and eleven gadders, to be cut with a knife of a penny price; and you, Ralph de Percy, shall take twenty-one of each sort; and you, Allotson, shall take nine of each sort, to be cut as



aforesaid, *and to be taken on your backs*, to the town of Whitby, and to be there before nine of the clock of the same day, and at the hour of nine if it be full sea, to cease their service as long as till it be low water; and at nine o'clock the same day each of you shall set your stakes at the brim of the water, each stake a yard from the other, and so gadder them with your gadders, and so stake them on each side with your straight stowers, that they stand three tides without removing from the force of the water; each of you shall meet at that hour in every year, except it be full sea at that hour, which, when it shall happen to come to pass, the service shall cease: you shall do this to remember that you did slay me, and that you may be better call to God for mercy. The officer of Eskdale shall blow, 'Out on you! Out on you! Out on you!' for this heinous crime of yours. If you or your successors refuse this service, so long as it shall not be full sea at the hour aforesaid, you or yours shall forfeit all your land to the abbot or his successors."\*

It is difficult to determine whether this circumstantial relation is history or myth: the particularities of time and place, even to the very day of the occurrence; the names of the actors, the judicial form, and the ipsissima verba in which the sentence professes to be drawn up, would lead us to infer the former, did not this very precision superinduce a doubt that it may have been subsequently framed to disarm suspicion, by the introduction of minute facts, which, though they cannot now be proved, are at least as little capable of being contradicted. That, however, such an exact relation of dates, acts, and persons, should have been chronicled and preserved to the present day, is, to say the least, extremely startling, and would in matters of greater moment justly excite

\* "N. B. This service is still (1826) annually performed."

suspicion and disbelief, which the curious nature of the penance would tend materially to strengthen. The nature of a tenure of land to be held by stick-bearing, which were to be tested as to their strength by bearing the brunt of three waves, is so rife with ancient and heathen practice, that even if the story were true, the penance would seem suggested by the oldest and venerated opinions of its efficacy and holiness; and the name of a hermitage, the probable site of the murder called *Pegnalech*, but tends to confirm this mythic view of the story.

A few years earlier to these instances of, as I view them, an ancient superstition, I should undoubtedly have reckoned the tradition, of which I have the most vivid recollection, told me by the incumbent of the united parishes of St. Mary's and St. Peter's, of Barton-upon-Humber, repeatedly during my seven years' abode under his roof and tuition—that part of the emoluments of the benefice arose from the gift of a pedlar, and that his representation was found, with his dog, in glass, on the window of the church. Wishing, however, to verify this recollection of a very distant period, I addressed a letter to my schoolfellow, the very zealous antiquary and F.S.A., Mr. W. S. Hesleden, solicitor, of that place; who, however, gave no support to this reminiscence. But his letter is so generally interesting, that I make no apology for the following extracts; in which I hope, however, I do not forestall the history of these two churches which Mr. H. half promises to write. It will, no doubt, prove as interesting as his disquisitions on the earth-works in the adjoining parish of Bar-

row. There are, he says, remaining of stained glass, in St. Mary's, a fragment of Christ on the Cross; and at St. Peter's, "there are two figures: the one is that of a pilgrim, with his staff in his right hand, and a book in his left, having his wallet hanging before him, and having also an escallop-shell depicted on his cap, showing that he had made a pilgrimage to Compostella, or elsewhere; and the other is that of a military figure, with shield, and spear, and sword, but having no spurs." He also mentions another figure of a pilgrim, depicted by Fowler, now stolen: "I have always considered it as a figure of St. James, and upon my examination of the two compartments, I find them composed of fragments of some former broken windows." Mr. H. further remarks: "Had the pedlar been exhibited in the church windows at Barton, I should still have referred it to St. Chad, who was always *to travel on foot*, until his superior, the bishop Theodore, compelled him to travel on horseback." It seems "St. Mary's church was originally a chapel, founded by St. Chad and his elder brother, Cedd, previous to the formation of the parish by King Wulfhere, who was converted by St. Chad, and so delighted with him, that he not only founded the church and parish of St. Peter, in Barton, but he gave St. Chad the land of fifty families at *Berwe*, that is, at Barrow, to found a monastery there, and which afterwards formed the modern parish of Barrow."

In this legend of St. Chad, his continually "travelling on foot," by which he would become a *paddler*, which, etymologically, we need not be

told, is identical with *pedlar*, and, like the German *padde*, the frog, but a synonym, as we have before seen, of *Puch*; I fancy I still perceive as strong a tinge of infused heathendom as St. Chad would permit, or his converts could introduce. In all these modern instances of *pedlar* and *carrier*, we have the great pagan ideas of the *Burthen Bearer*, or *Ber-stücks*, which in the *Whitby* tale are expressed *au pied de Lettre*. The idea of a *Puch* is so intimately connected with all things carried, that the sack thence takes the name of the *Poke*, or in still more exact conformity, in Scotland, *Pocks*; so *Jamieson* quotes, from the *Rev. J. Nichol's* poems:—

“The cotter weanies glad and gay,  
Wi *Pocks* out owre their shouter,  
Sing at the doors for *Hogmany*.”\*

—From *Caledonian Mercury*, Jan. 2, 1792.

Nor need we wonder at these lingering embers of a dying superstition, still smouldering beneath the ashes of their accustomed hearths. *Scott* (*Demonology*, p. 92) has well remarked of the first proselytes from their ancient faith: “Such hasty converts professing themselves Christians, but neither weaned from their own belief nor instructed in their new one, entered the sanctuary without laying aside the superstitions with which

\* On *Hogmany* we may remark, that *Hog* does not exclusively refer to the young of swine. Shepherds call sheep of one year hogs, and, as originally applied to any young animals of the same kind, it may also mean the kid, and *Hog-many*, therefore, stand for *Kid-money*. *Vide* the request of *Robin Goodfellow*, at p. 221.

their young minds had been imbued ; and, accustomed to a plurality of deities, some of them, who bestowed unusual thought on the matter, might be of opinion, that in adopting the God of the Christians they had not renounced the service of every inferior power." A consequence, however, of this change was, the transference of heathen Fanes to the Christian Trinity. For this it would be superfluous to cite examples ; those of our St. Paul's occupying the site of the Temple of Diana ; of Westminster Abbey, perhaps, yet covering the debris of a Temple of Apollo, are too trite to adduce. Professor Engling, in the *Luxemburg Archæological Publications for 1847*, vol. iii., p. 188, gives us data for similar changes in that small duchy, enumerating thirteen localities in which they have occurred ; and a necessary consequence on this re-appropriation of the building, was also the cession of the lands and endowments by which it and the attendant priests had been supported. This the professor also notices, and cites as a legal authority, or order for this transfer, *Codex. Theod.*, c. 20, *de Paganis* (16—20), by which all the property of a heathen temple was confiscated and turned over to the Christians. Coupling, therefore, this mythic view of our pedlars, carriers, &c. as heathen idols, with the acquisitions made by them, given to mother Church, and veiled under the name of a bequest, we can find a reason for these dotations of so many of our oldest churches, which we have not hitherto supposed. These *spolia opima* of an overthrown religion naturally fell to the conquerors, and it is

to the lapse of time only, and the entire change in our opinions, that more traditions have not been retained of their triumph. The concurrence, however, of so many, when properly construed, in the curious and improbable tale, would, as I have before observed, justify the suspicion of a feigned origin; and for fictions we are at liberty, when circumstances require, more reasonable solutions, to search for probabilities attendant upon them, in accordance with the times and manners of a distant age. Lambeth, so near the ancient Londinum, was no doubt the seat of another Coifi,\* who, like the Yorkshire one, by an easy and quiet conversion, merited and obtained his ancient glebe for the decent upholding of his new faith; and when a pedlar was said to have bestowed the dotation, the pack-bearer was an easy substitute for the original Puck, or Berstuck. An imposed legend, so consonant to the ideas and feelings of the vulgar, was easily assented to and retained by subsequent generations, till it got fixed monumentally as an undoubted truth.† The presence of the dog in

\* All our historians following Bede, who wrote from traditions of an event which happened about a century and a half previous to his times, take this as the proper name of an individual. I have reason to believe that it was but his designation as a high priest, and the name of his office; but the necessary proofs would be too long to enter on here, and would divert myself and the reader too much from the present theme.

† The modern and ancient names of Lambeth are not destitute of support to my foregoing theory of the heathen origin of its Pedlar. We have seen in the good Shepherd (p. 251),

both myths, of the Man in the Moon and of the Pedlar, add to this conviction, and have sometimes caused the stick-stealer to be turned into a shepherd. Thus over the north door of the beautiful cathedral at Magdeburg, a shepherd is carved, with dog and flock, which popular superstition asserts to be continually looking at a star on the north tower, which marks exactly the height to which it was built by money which a vision revealed to him. This tradition is again exactly found on the British seal noticed at p. 238. The man accompanied by his dog, and

that the lamb gradually superseded the kid on the shoulders of our Pucks, which may give us the first syllable. The second, *beth*, is a not unusual ending for the names of places in England: Dig-beth in Birmingham, and Land-beder in Cardiganshire, are what immediately strike me; but it is more usual in the Anglo-Saxon and cognate Teutonic dialects, without the final aspirate: as German, *Bett*; English and Anglo-Saxon, *Bed*, a place to rest or remain in; thence our *Bed* and A-bode. The German *Bude* is our *Bothy*, or shed, and all vocal varieties of the same consonants have similar meanings. His abode, or house, offered to a visitor, is the regular measure of a Spaniard's hospitality, as a Welsh Bidding Wedding is its greatest stretch in Britain, which tells us why Bid, which in Johnson means to invite, may also mean to command. Royal invitations are always given as commands—*Boat* is the seaman's house, in many countries, exclusively, hence Lam-beth would, therefore, signify the abode or temple of the *Lamb*, or the *Kids*, or *Sticks borne* (personified as *Berstucks*), for I have before observed that the transition in name, from the young animal to another of similar form and habits, would be as easy as in form. The nomenclature of the early ages, for all objects of nature, was very indistinct and confounded. In Reynard the Fox, the personal name of the Hare is Lambe.

bearing a bundle of sticks, is standing in the half-moon, as at p. 213, only the crescent is upright; but two stars are there, to which his eyes are directed. The legend on the seal, "TE WALTERE DOCEBO CUR SPINAS PHÆBO GERO," is very curious, as possibly the personal motto of Walter de Grendene, clerk, and is affixed to a deed in the ninth year of the reign of Edward the Third (1335), whereby he conveys to his mother one messuage and a barn, with four acres of ground, in the parish of Kingston-upon-Thames. This Mr. Hudson Turner, who exhibited it, thinks is "an enigmatical mode of expressing that 'honesty is the best policy.'" I lament, that, as I have no access to the State Paper Office, where the deed is deposited, to copy it, the loan of the block was rather uncourteously denied by its present proprietor, though accompanied with the offer of acknowledgment. In lieu thereof we may observe, that as the Roman Kid-Bearers (*vide* p. 239), were a species of tutelary deity, or Lar, the dog was a necessary accompaniment, as we learn from Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 135. Speaking of the Lares, he says:—

"Stant quoque pro nobis et præsumt mœnibus Urbis;  
 Et sunt præsentēs, auxiliūque ferunt.  
 At canis ante pedes saxo fabricatus eodem  
 Stabat: quæ standi cum Lare causa fuit?  
 Servat uterque domum: domino quoque fidus uterque:  
 Compita grata Deo: compita grata cani.  
 Exagitant et Lar et turba Diana fures:  
 Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilantque canes."\*

\* Perhaps better reasons than Ovid here gives may be





## CHAPTER VI.

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“ Seldom has any similar collection raised so much attention, or put into motion so many learned pens, or caused so many frequently contradictory opinions, nay, often been laid unhesitatingly by writers who have never seen them personally or examined them closely, as the ground-work of historical data, which have materially changed their views on the state of civilisation in North-Eastern Germany, in very important points.”—*Levezow's Inquiry on the Rhetra Deities. Transac. Berl. Acad. for 1834, p. 143.*

As much of the credibility and congruity of what has been hitherto adduced on the general agreement in the mythology of all nations, will depend on the authenticity of the bronze statuette on the frontispiece of this volume, and repeated in the text, it will be necessary to enter rather largely in this chapter into its discovery, amongst a large number of other bronze idols, and into the controversy that is still raging amongst German archæologists as to the genuineness and value of the entire collection of the figures. It will, therefore, be of the utmost importance to trace the discovery from its source, and to mention in detail the various essays that have appeared on the subject, in a more complete literature than any German work has yet exhibited.

Between the years 1687 and 1697, the Rev. Friederich Samuel Sponholz, incumbent of the parish of Prilwitz, a small village on the borders of the Tollens Lake, or more correctly on the southern shore of the Lips, a piece of water connected with it, in the present Grand Duchy of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, and at no great distance from the Baltic Sea, wished to plant a fruit-tree in the vicarage garden. For this purpose he had a trench dug, against the declivity of a high hill which rose immediately above it at the back of his premises. In the progress of the excavation he chanced to meet with a capacious metal caldron, or vessel (kessel), in an upright position, on which was an inscription in Runic characters; and it was covered by another vessel of the same metal, also inscribed with similar Runes, as far as could be afterwards collected from descriptions; for it will soon be seen that both these vessels were destroyed before any more especial notice had been taken of them. Alongside these caldrons, about two hundred weight of iron implements (Eisen-geräthe) had also been hidden, apparently at the same time; but this too was destroyed along with the caldrons, and nothing further appears remarkable concerning it. I mention it here merely to give every circumstance I find noted in connexion with the discovery.

Within the two vessels were found above *one hundred and eighty* various idols, instruments, and utensils of metal; for, from various circumstances hereafter to be mentioned, the precise number was never ascertained; but Superintendent Masch, in

an express work on the subject, described sixty-six objects, and Count Potocki subsequently 110 to 118 additional ones, and some had been melted down before their existence had been made known to either. These figures represented, principally, Slavonic idols, with their instruments of sacrifice and oblation; and in Dr. Masch's opinion some of them also were the ensigns and standards borne before their armies in time of war, but deposited during peace in the temples of their deities. With very few exceptions, each idol had its name inserted on some part of the image, with the place of its location, in Runic characters, many of which were merely inscribed with a metal point on the surface; but a good proportion also with *Runes in relief*, and which must have been worked into the mould in which the figure was cast. They were generally *small* in size, the largest image not exceeding seven and a half inches in height, and weighing about seven pounds; but the greater part stood only a very few inches high. Some of the sacrificial or oblatory dishes had a circumference of about ten inches, but, being formed merely of interlacing bars of an oval form, the largest of them weighed only two pounds eleven ounces. The *composition* of the metal in which they were made was various. Dr. Masch, in the work above alluded to, and which I shall soon notice more particularly, says, it was "not silver, nor copper, nor brass, but a mixture of all;" and the majority of the figures (and this fact must be especially borne in mind) contain silver, ascertained by the touchstone, at

one, one and a half, two, and as far as five ounces. An occasional figure has its body of this composite metal, with its feet of lead; the general character, however, is a white metal, unequally mixed in different objects, and often in the same figure; most of them may be, however, stated as bronze, of a similar composition to what the general run of lance-heads, celts, knives, &c. consist, which are found in opening the early tumuli of all European countries. We learn from Klaproth (*Eherne Streit-Keile zumahl in Deutschland*, von Dr. Heinrich Schreiber, Freiburg, 1844, p. 43), who analysed five specimens from distant localities, that the average result was—copper 89·95, lead 10·5. Dr. Leyser (*Bericht der Deutschen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig*, 1844, p. 43) adduces another analysis, viz.—copper 89, zinc 11, which gives the mass almost the appearance of gold; and Dr. Masch calls the Prilwitz composition sometimes red, sometimes yellow metal. From circumstances, and particularly from the first report of the discovery circulated in England,\* there is no doubt that some of the first investigators were half persuaded that the material of the objects was really gold. These particulars will suf-

\* I find the following, nearly the only, notice of the discovery in England, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxviii. 1768, p. 141:—"A brass chest has lately been discovered under a high hill, in the duchy of Mecklenburg Strelitz, in which was inclosed thirty golden idols, with urns and instruments of sacrifice; on the back of one of the idols the words 'Radegast, Raetra,' were very legible. They weighed about half a pound each." This notice will receive correction, in almost every particular, in the subsequent pages.

vice to give the reader a pretty accurate estimate of the discovery, and we may now take up again our historical *resumé* of the circumstances succeeding the examination of these remarkable objects.

The Reverend Friederich Samuel Sponholz, their first discoverer, does not seem to have taken either care or trouble to improve or benefit himself by this treasure trove; and in the absence of any distinct information on his motives of neglect, we may balance betwixt the belief of his really not appreciating its value, or the fear of being compelled to surrender it to the superior title of the lord of the soil, should he too loudly blazon his good fortune abroad; for, as I have just hinted, the find was most probably thought, at first, of infinitely greater intrinsic value than it afterwards turned out.

Whatever were his motives, the fact is undoubted, that up to his death, in 1697, the discovery continued, if I may so express myself, in abeyance, and all subsequent inquiries do not appear to have substantiated a single step he took concerning it. The figures remained neglected, perhaps forgotten, during his lifetime; and during her year of grace,\* his widow, in realising his effects, sold them, most probably, for little more than their value as old copper, to a goldsmith named Pälcke, of New Brandenburg, the nearest market town, who, as is mostly the practice in

\* The widows of clergymen and schoolmasters, &c., are generally allowed a year's residence after their husbands' death, before they are compelled to give possession of the parsonage or school-houses to the new incumbent.

such provincial places, united the business of a general founder in the finer metals with his other trades, and, as naturally might be expected, the iron was used up, and the two caldrons were melted down into bell metal. It is probable that the entire collection would have passed into Mr. Pälcke's crucible, if the attempt made upon some of the idols (the god Prove is particularly named) had proved successful; for, in the last page of his preface to the work dedicated to their description, Dr. Masch says: "Though the mass be, in part, silver, yet it is so much alloyed with all kinds of metals, particularly with brass, that it is of as little use to a goldsmith as it would be to the Mint;" and to this circumstance it most probably is owing, that we now are in possession of any of the objects. It is certain that a trial was made upon one of the images, most probably the above-named Prove; but, when molten, its silver refused to separate by the ordinary process of amalgamation or analysis, and consequently the whole was considered valueless. I beg particularly to impress this fact on the attention of my readers, because as subsequently the accusation of forgery has been set up, which could only, from circumstances, attach to the first discoverer, it must be evident from the foregoing facts that he expended much time, labour, and talent, and was at a great expense of the precious metals, besides the risk of being scouted as an impostor, without any apparent motive, or any steps taken to turn all this toil and expense to a result either of fame or profit, either to himself or family.

The total want of any intrinsic value being thus established, these idols remained without further disturbance till after Mr. Pälcke's death, when they descended to his son-in-law, also called Sponholz like their first discoverer, and, as a goldsmith, probably Pälcke's successor in the business; but it was a curious coincidence that he was the son of the paternal great-uncle of this same F. S. Sponholz, or, as the relationship is expressed in a very roundabout way in German, he was the Grossvater's Bruder's Sohn (the grandfather's brother's son) of him who first dug out the caldrons.

Another fact and link in the possession is, that these objects passed successively, by descent, to the widow of (I may call him) this second Mr. Sponholz, and afterwards became the joint property of his three sons, as heirs in common of their father, the eldest of whom had the father's business. Their names were respectively Jacob Ernest, Jonathan Benjamin, and Gideon Nathaniel, though the eldest seems to have carried on exclusively the goldsmith business of his father, and to have retained the disposition of his effects, as he sold that part of the collection described by superintendent Masch to a Dr. Hempel, in 1766 or 1767. Of the second son, no particular mention, in reference to these antiquities, is made; but of the third we shall hear more in the sequel.

Having now circulated, including female ownership, through six different proprietors, time had progressed to the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, when nearly eighty years



(Dr. Masch in one place allows sixty, in another seventy, \* years) had elapsed, during which such curious and important evidences, as I trust to prove them, of Slavonic rites and doctrines, had lain dormant and unobserved, no notice or comment concerning them having hitherto been given in any way to the public. This fact, however, need not much astonish us, when we consider the state of archæological science during that whole period throughout Germany, and the obscure corner of one of its most obscure provinces in which the discovery was made; but, above all, the character of the Sponholzes, and particularly of the last possessor of that name of the larger number, as witnessed in the traits subsequently given of him, from personal observation, by Count Jean Potocki, a great forwarder of Slavonic history. The Count, during a stay of some days at New Brandenburg, for the express purpose of examining and delineating these prominent objects of his peculiar study, viz., Slavonic history, antiquities, and mythology—a study on which he seems to have bestowed a considerable portion of his life and much money in travelling and personally inspecting every object tending to illustrate: “*mon grand ouvrage intitulé Cronique, Memoires et Recherches pour servir a l’Histoire de tous les Peuples Slaves. Un volume in 4to. a deja (1793) paru a Warsovie l’autre est actuellement (1794) sur la*

\* Von Rumohr, in his treatise: “Ueber das Verhältniss der seit lange gewöhnlichen Vorstellung von einer prachtvollen Vineta: in Beiträgen zur Kunst und Historie, (p. 17, note) 60, 70 und *mehrere Jahre.*”

presse à Berlin." The first volume is in the British Museum, the other I have not yet seen. The Count, however, published, as a thin quarto, another, work almost expressly dedicated to the description of the Prillwitz idols, of such importance did he consider them to Slavonic researches, entitled, "*Voyage dans quelques Parties de la Basse Saxe pour la Recherche des Antiquités Slaves ou Vendes fait en 1794 par le Comte Jean Potocki,*" 4to., Hamburg, 102 pages, with 118 figures on 31 plates.

In this work, which I adduce at present merely for the purpose of showing the manners of Gideon Nathaniel Sponholz the youngest, and, in 1794, sole surviving brother of the three last mentioned, as one reason for the complete disregard of these figures, or their greater number since Dr. Masch's publication, the Count tells us that the brothers Sponholz had only partially disclosed their treasures to the clerical superintendent, and that they had kept back from him the most curious and interesting pieces of the discovery. The Count's work is written partly as a journal, and in jotting down his remarks for the 16th August, 1794, he says, p. 14:—

"Tout ce que j'ai dessiné aujourd'hui a été trouvé à Prillwitz en même temps que les idoles déjà décrites par Mr. Masch, mais celles qui sont restées à Mr. Sponholz *sont massives et tout plus intéressantes* que les autres : mais Sponholz pour des raisons qui tiennent à son caractère morale ne produisit à cette époque que la moindre partie de son cabinet et depuis alors Mr. Masch a négligé les recherches des antiques Slaves, quoique les succès qui ont accompagnées les commencemens de cette passion eussent du lui inspirer plus de confiance."

We may therefore ascribe the delay and apathy, as to the greater part, to the opposite motives of indifference or jealousy; for Count Potocki, though he twice uses the words "pour des raisons qui tiennent à son caractère," nowhere states them with precision, but he may seem to insinuate the latter, when, at p. 82, he says:—

"Depui lors (Mr. Sponholz) s'est déterminé à ne plus garder son cabinet avec une sollicitude aussi mysterieuse, cependant on m'assure que je suis le premier à qui il l'ait montré avec franchise et sans reticence aucune, et même il prenoit un plaisir extrême à me voir dessiner."

And this view of the matter is partly corroborated by what Dr. Masch says in his preface, which is unpagged:—

"Still, I always held the opinion that more antiquities were concealed by Mr. Sponholz. Dr. Hempel, a great admirer of such works of ancient art, as well as of natural curiosities, tried his utmost to discover them, but in vain. However, I was at last fortunate enough, in a journey thither last summer (1790), to obtain first some pieces, and then my whole collection, upon certain conditions.\* It has been before remarked that one reason for secrecy at the first discovery might have been the fear lest the ground landlord might have put in his claim for the enormous value of this treasure trove, if he had been acquainted with it, which Dr. Masch partly insinuates when, at p. 3 of his preliminary treatise, he says:—"Whether Herr Von Gamm, the patron of the living and proprietor of the soil, got any intelligence of the discovery, is uncertain; but still it did not remain totally unknown, for a rumour concerning it got abroad that was credited and denied, but never investigated."

\* Dr. Masch's original words are:—"Unterdessen blieb allezeit der Gedanke übrig dass bei dem Herrn Sponholz noch mehrere Alterthümer verborgen sein möchten; der

Having thus in some measure accounted for a neglect of nearly eighty years towards the Prilwitz idols, we resume the narrative at the period when the first public authentic notice concerning them appears.

After the abortive attempt I have already stated to make the idols available by the crucible, in 1768, (the two caldrons, with their curious Runes, submitted themselves to the founder's melting-pot, as part of the material for a cast of bells for the new Brandenburg church), the third Mr. Sponholz turned his attention to the value of these bronze relics, as objects of antiquity and art; and, as it seems, after much solicitation, produced to a physician of the place named Hempel at first forty-five pieces, and subsequently another, making the whole of his first instalment, forty-six in number. At the instigation of this medical gentleman, some account of them was published by the Rev. G. B. Genzmer, prebend or arch-deacon of the neighbouring town of Stargard, in the *Altona Mercury* of 1768, whence, most probably, the notice in *Gent. Mag.* of the same year, mentioned p. 274, note, was taken.\* A similar

Herr Dr. Hempel, dieser grosser Freund von dergleichen Seltenheiten der Kunst sowohl als der Natur, wandte sein äusserstes an sie zu entdecken. Es war aber alles vergebens. Mir glückte es endlich im abgewichenem Sommer bei einer dahin angestellten Reise zuerst einige Stücke und bald hernach auch die übrigen auf gewisse Bedingungen zu erhalten."

\* This mistake of a mixed for the most precious of metals, has occurred also amongst the ancients, and may, therefore, be the more excusable. We have in the descrip-

announcement was made also in the "*Rostock gemeinnützige Aufsätze*, a journal then widely circulated through the southern shores of the Baltic. These announcements created a considerable sensation in the north of Germany, and much was written *pro* and *con* about them; but as the following passage from Dr. Masch's work explains this more fully, and, at the same time, contains the various literature of this stage of the discussion, I shall introduce it in a translation:—

"People read and wondered, and acknowledged the value of these relics, and their great interest for the religious history of a nation now become extinct in Mecklenburg, and of which we now possess nothing but some stone pillars on their mounds, and the names of a few villages. Unexpectedly, there appeared a notice of them by Pastor Sense of Warlin, in this province, which denied all utility to these antiquities. His strictures are, however, of such a nature, that I should not have mentioned them if Mr. D. H. F. Taddel's vindication of them from Rostock had not made it imperative, wherein those strictures are confuted most argumentatively. And when the Rev. pastor thought proper to issue a rejoinder, canon Genzmer reviewed the principal points of the controversy, and placed the genuine antiquity of these figures in their true light." (Pref. p. 5.)

The following extract from Count Potocki's work (p. 81) will complete the list of what had been further written concerning them to the commencement of the present century, in addition to Dr. Masch and Wogen's quarto, noticed above, and the work of Count Potocki himself:—

tion of a Strigula, by a Latin enigmatist (LXXXVI.), this feature also in the line:—

"Luminibus falsis auri mentita colorem."

*Vide* also p. 274.

"Je pouvais y ajouter deux critiques de M. Masch l'une faite par le Professeur Thunman (*die ältesten nordischen Völker durch A. F. Busching*, Berlin, 1772, 4to.) ; l'autre par M. Bucholz (*Rethra und dessen Götzenbilder: Butzow* 1773, 4to.), mais ce dernier ouvrage n'attaque point l'authenticité des antiques ; il veut seulement prouver que Prilwitz n'est point l'ancienne Rhetra et ses argumens sont assez forts pour l'avoir laissé la question indecisé. Quand au premier c'est une suite d'assertions denuées de citations ; défaut ordinaire de cet auteur."

In 1770, the year following on the acquisition of part of these figures by Dr. Hempel, the Rev. Andreas Gottlieb Masch, superintendent of the grand dukedom of Mecklenburg Strelitz (answering almost to an English Bishop), was induced by the wish of his friend and his own taste, to compile a description of them under the title, "*Die Gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Obotriten aus dem Tempel zu Rhetra*," 4to., Berlin, 1770, which, being published by the court painter, Mr. Wogen, who seems to have supplied the funds, frequently is cited as his work. Some kind of understanding seems to have been subsequently entered into betwixt the medical and clerical doctors, by which the possession of the figures was transferred from the former to the latter, but only as a kind of locumtenens, for the acquisition was accompanied by a stipulation, that when the superintendent Masch had finished his description, they should be deposited with some public body in the duchy. This, we learn from the preface, had been accomplished by placing them in the then recently-formed library attached to the Domkirche, or Cathedral, of Ratzeburg, a beautifully situated

town in an island of the romantic lake of the same name, and the ancient capital of the Wendic tribe of the Polabi, by whom the goddess Siva was more especially worshipped; and the reverend gentleman felicitates himself, with more warmth than orthodoxy, "that the true and veritable image of this divinity (with others) was at length deposited in this most ancient and celebrated seat of her worship." He does not seem to have been aware of her close connexion in attributes with her Indian namesake, whence she most probably originally proceeded. It is, however, necessary to caution the reader, in opposition to Murray's Hand-book, that they are no longer preserved there, by which he will, unlike the writer, be saved an unnecessary journey, though the beauty of the drive, (*i. e.* before the railroad passed to Lübeck), and the romantic situation of the town, will in part compensate for the disappointment. They must have been long removed, for Rumohr, in the work already noted, and published in 1816, says, at 14, note:—

"Die von Masch beschriebenen Alterthümer würden einige Zeit in der Bibliothek der Domkirche zu Ratzeburg aufbewahrt in ganz neuerer Zeit aber nach Strelitz gebracht."

most probably on the territorial changes consequent upon the treaty of Vienna, in 1815.

The work of Masch contains, on sixty-five plates, figures of every article then produced, of the size of their originals, beautifully engraved on copper for that period and country by the court painter Wogen from oil copies by himself, which

Rumohr, who had seen the originals, praises as truer delineations than were then accustomed to be seen of historical subjects of this nature in Germany. The plan of the work is to give, *seriatim*, a description of each object, with the Runes on them converted in their corresponding Roman characters, and then to add a short explanation of each object.

The dedication to the then youthful queen of George III., a native princess of the grand duchy, was natural, as the book seems to have been expected to create attention in London, and not unsuccessfully, to judge from the number of English names which swells the catalogue of subscribers: many of the then Fellows of the Society of Antiquarians, and other notabilities of the day, adorn this list. The work was by far the most learned and complete that had up to that time appeared, not only on the antiquities and figures before him, but generally on the early history and mythology of the Wends of Mecklenburg. For the character of its author, which has been much reflected on for credulity and want of critical discernment, I refer particularly to Von Rumohr's Treatise, p. 11: "Was an Denkmäler vorhanden ist, hat Masch mit rühmlichem Fleisse und grosser Gründlichkeit beschrieben und theils in treueren Abbildungen mitgetheilt als vor ihm bei geschichtlichen Denkmälern dieser Zeit in Deutschland zu erscheinen pfliegen."

It would be tedious to the reader and myself here to follow the author through the 162 quarto pages of his book, which, however, contain many



curious proofs bearing upon the genuineness of these figures—one, that they all are covered with the true *ærugo nobilis*, is particularly insisted upon as a certain and unfailing proof of the highest antiquity, which no art or ingenuity, nothing but time, can produce; and he comes then to his final conclusion of the most perfect conviction of their truthfulness and antiquity, expressed in the following words, § 60, p. 48:—

“ On comparing these circumstances one with another, we can readily believe: 1. That we have not the slightest reason to consider the collection as spurious, or to hold them in a degree of slight estimation, unless we wish to throw ourselves open to the imputation of having no knowledge of antiquity. 2. That if these objects were different to what they are, they must have been forged and spurious, and therefore those who demand that they ought to have been different to what they are, do not know what they ask. 3. That, therefore, these figures are the true sacred objects of the so far-famed temple of Rhethra, which, having lain a long time in the soil, were dug up about seventy years back, and concealed by their possessors, till now they are brought to light.”

This somewhat overwhelming confidence of Dr. Masch, and the full coinciding of Count Potocki, and of others on the spot, confirms in a great measure the opinions of the brothers Grimm, that all who have had opportunities of a personal inspection have come away perfectly convinced of their genuineness: all their opponents have principally attacked the reasonings of their supporters from a distance. The subsequent exceptions will be mentioned below. In fact, the first doubt on the subject may be said to have been started after the interval of seventy-six years, by Herr Levezow,

in a treatise, "*Ueber die Aechtheit der sogenannten Obotritischen Runendenkmäler zu Neu-Strelitz,*" in the Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, at Berlin, in 1834, (*vide* their Transactions for that year, 4to, Berlin, 1836, p. 143 ff.) For all that had been previously written by Sense, Taddel, Genzmer, Thunmann, Buchholz, Liebusch, whilst they admitted unreservedly the authenticity of the objects, demurred, where objection was made, only to different points of Dr. Masch's reasoning concerning them, particularly as to the true situation of the Temple of Rhetra, which is, however, of very minor importance in the inquiry. Levezow's investigation having been apparently conducted with care, and from personal inspection, the condemnatory judgment that he passed on their authenticity has been subsequently generally received without inquiry, or influenced the investigations of later writers.

It would be here also too uninteresting to the reader to follow this writer's dissertation, of sixty closely printed quarto pages, too minutely; it may be sufficient to state the principal objections raised. Having determined to form no judgment upon them previous to a personal and searching investigation (p. 157), he passed, in the autumn of 1825, nearly four weeks in examining them, with every aid which the grand ducal permission, and the able co-operation of the Hofrath Reincke, the grand ducal librarian and custos of these antiquities, could afford. He even went so far as to propose a commission, to interrogate persons who

had been in connexion with any of the three later brothers Sponholz, upon oath; and collected from the answers of one of them, named Newman, then a goldsmith of Old Strelitz, who deposed that Gideon Nathaniel Sponholz, though himself ignorant of Runes, of antiquities, of metal-founding, was in connexion with a clever potter of the name of Pohl, who frequently brought him small figures formed of unburnt clay, which the deponent then had to cast in metal, and afterwards to mark upon them with a punch Runes like those in the work already mentioned, and which Masch had described the first collection; for it is fully proved that this younger brother had never been in possession, or had any control over the collection sold by the elder to Dr. Hempel. Upon this single evidence, and notwithstanding the testimony of three other parties, who had been in the service of the three Sponholzes as apprentices, and afterwards as journeymen many years, who had never witnessed any such practices; notwithstanding many of the one hundred and eighteen figures exhibited by Gideon to Count Potocki (p. 165) bear names of idols of undoubted Wendic origin, as OTHIN, RUGEWIT, RUZIVIA, HELA, &c., of which, in Masch's book and figures, there are no examples to copy, and which awkward fact Levezow can only meet by the totally gratuitous supposition of suggestive aid from two antiquaries in the same town; notwithstanding these difficulties, Levezow at once throws overboard the whole collection shown by Gideon Sponholz to Count Potocki, as spurious (p. 165); and as he himself confesses that these

objections cannot affect the sixty pieces described by Masch, in which is the Satyr under notice, we will, for the present, no further enter into the question concerning this part of the assemblage.

The objections raised, however, to the first collection, now come to be considered (p. 166). With a great degree of candour, we have, in the first instance, the following admission in their favour: viz., That the entire soil of Mecklenburg is so pregnant with metallic relics of antiquity, that a large discovery like that at Prilwitz is not improbable. 2nd. His principal objection to the reported two caldrons found with runes, such as, however, are admitted to be found in other places, is, that though reported to have been given by Pälcke, their second possessor, to aid in founding a set of bells for the church at New Brandenburg, no notice of them or the donor, as such, is taken in the church books of that city; for which, however, various satisfactory reasons will immediately rise to the mind of the observer. In his seventh paragraph (p. 171) he principally objects to the remark, that about two hundred weight of old iron had been found with the bronze articles, which could afterwards be used up. He thinks that iron must have, during the time it may have lain in the earth, been so completely eaten up by rust, as to have been altogether valueless; but this every antiquarian knows is not the case, except in particular circumstances. The fact that the first clerical discoverer kept his good fortune secret, he thinks might not have been improbable, from its nature as treasure trove, and the claims

of the ground proprietor; but, from a circumstance stated in some MS. original documents of Dr. Hempel and Canon Genzmer, that the entire collection had been made a present of by Herr Gamm, the landlord, to the incumbent, Pastor Sponholz, at the time they were exhumed, he thinks (p. 173) that considerable suspicion attaches to the entirely reverse statement made by Dr. Masch. Here he throughout speaks of a *tradition* only of the discovery existing through three generations, as if Masch (p. 4, *note*) had not mentioned as a *fact*, that the wife of Pastor Badresch, widow of Heroldt, a daughter of the original discoverer, recollected to have known in her youth that a large lot of worked metal (allerlei metal-werk) had been found in the parsonage garden. This *fact* Levezow, though he gives the words (p. 146), passes entirely over, and once or twice repeats his assertion, that the history of the discovery depends solely upon the traditional testimony of three generations of parties of the same family now dead. The entire investigation is not here gone into, as Levezow signifies at the conclusion (p. 206) that he meant to continue his objections, by opposition to the Runic characters on the figures; but, unfortunately, I believe death cut short his intentions, and I was informed that his papers on the subject were forwarded to Professor and Archivarius Lisch, the very learned antiquary, and keeper of the Grand Ducal Museum at Schwerin, for inspection and arrangement; I therefore much lamented to receive from this gentleman, at an interview during

the Germanisten Versammlung, in 1847 at Lübeck, the notice that he did not intend to publish the continuation. In addition, however, to many objections to the technical ability and taste in the casting of the figures, to the apparent heterogeneous composition of their parts, their artistic value and style, which we may at present pass over, the author of this paper particularly condemns Masch's views on the patina, the ærugo nobilis, in whose undeniable presence the clerical describer views, as we have seen, the surest proof of the authenticity of the articles. Agreeing generally upon this patina test, Mr. Levezow denies that it exists on the figures so indisputably as is assumed; yet he admits that its finest quality can only be supplied by time, upon objects whose original surface *was smooth and polished* (p. 184); whilst, at p. 185, he himself gives a sufficient reason why these figures should not have the finest kind of patina (and a slighter or inferior degree is unhesitatingly conceded), when he says: "On these idols and utensils is no trace of the above-described, shining, fast, and noble rust of antiquity to be discovered, *because they are wanting in one of the principal requisites, namely, an original polished surface*;"\* so that his only objection is rather against the want of care or art

\* The original words are: "Von jenem kurz zuvor beschriebenen glänzenden, festen, edlen Roste des Alterthums ist nun auf den Idolen und Geräthschaften des Prilwitzer Fundes *nichts* zu entdecken weil ihnen darin die Hauptbedingung fehlt, nemlich die ursprünglich geglättete Oberfläche."

in casting them, than against the patina, which he admits they were not in condition to receive.

Thus far the objections of Mr. Levezow, 23rd and 24th January, 1834, after a nine years' interval, from the date of his examination in 1825. That his earliest and freshest impressions were very different, I learn from the extract of a letter to the son of the Superintendent Masch, head incumbent of Schlagsdorf, dated 25th May, 1826, which extract is contained in a pamphlet by the grandson of this superintendent, the Rev. G. M. C. Masch, incumbent of Demmern, entitled, "*Die grossherzögliche Alterthümer und Münz Sammlung in Neu Strelitz, 1842,*" which was kindly given me by its author, when I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance at the above meeting at Lübeck. Of this extract the literal translation is as follows. Levezow finds them genuine,

"after weighing all the external and internal reasons for and against them; though here and there one or the other piece may have become mixed with these Prilwitz idols, that does not belong to them, and may even appear suspicious."

And also that in his literary relics, which were transferred, to be used by the Society for Mecklenburg History and Antiquity, fourteen negative and seven positive reasons end with this observation :

"All these unconstrained remarks could scarcely be drawn from the productions of a modern cheat, towards the end of the seventeenth century. They can find occasion only in works of originality, which are the natural products of time and place, and internal historical truth, or the organic results of a civilisation springing from them; and since all their marks answer so fully to these conditions, it can be only an

extravagant seeking after doubts, or a too keen criticism, that would negative them or seek to reason them away; and they will not cease to be the principal supports of our decision for the authenticity of these monuments, until, in an historical way, they are indisputably proved to be forgeries."\*

In asking any friend or follower of Mr. Levezow to reconcile such a discrepancy of opinion, it would not be candid not to remark, that it was subsequent to the date of the letter to Dr. Masch, when the results of the investigations of the committee, fixed, as already mentioned, by the grand ducal authority, and the testimony of the goldsmith Newman upon oath, that he had assisted Gideon Sponholz in casting his collection of statues, and punching the runes upon them, were known to Herr Levezow. Still, however, this new circumstance ought to have given him pause, as it did on the division of the idols drawn by Count Potocki. It could not have any relation to those which had never come under Gideon Sponholz's control, and which had, in fact, been sold before the most of the persons examined had entered the service of any of the Sponholzes; a sale which had been made by the elder brother, to Dr. Hempel, contrary to the wishes of the younger,

\* As this pamphlet is, most probably, in very few hands, I will give the concluding words of the original:—"Und da alle ihre Merkmale diesen Bedingungen so vollkommen entsprechen, dass nur übertriebene Zweifelsucht oder eine spitzfindige Kritik sie ableugnen oder entgegengesetzt zu deuten vermag, so werden sie nicht aufhören für uns Hauptentscheidungsgründe für die Aechtheit dieser Monumente zu seyn so lange bis auf historischem Wege ihre Unächtheit unbezweifelt erwiesen wird."



who used often to upbraid his senior for it (Levezow, p. 162). This first lot was not all affected by this evidence, supposing it true and unimpeachable, and his entire veering round in opinion to the directly opposite point, requires some reason to be shown that can affect the first collection, in which the satyr under consideration is found. Yet the contrary is the fact; even after nine years' consideration, he says of the first portion of it, that, in his inquiries into the personal relations and occupations of the first four possessors of these figures, nothing is to be found which could justly raise a suspicion to view their situations as equally doubtful or fraudulent as for the second parcel; that Gideon Sponholz could have exercised no influence upon them, never having had them under his control.

In the same grand ducal collection are fourteen small stones inscribed with very rude figures, and some few difficult or imperfect runes. These have been individually described, and pictorially exhibited in their full size, by F. v. Hagenow: "*Beschreibung der auf der Grossh. Bibliothek zu Neu Strelitz befündlichen Runensteine.*" Loitz. 1826; on which, Levezow in an earlier notice (C. M. C. Masch's Leitfaden, p. 32) says of them:—

"In the lines and indentations of these stones *no trace of a modern chisel is perceptible*; their entire inner surface shows plainly that they were incised a very long time back, and have been rounded by lapse of years and the action of fluids, so that they appear like the entire other superficies of the stone. Every judge of antiquity, or unprejudiced spectator, cannot refuse his assent to their antiquity at the first view. To dispute their genuineness would be to contradict all

the convictions which a frequent investigation can possibly give."

Levezow's convictions may have subsequently changed on these, as well as on the bronze articles; but it must certainly lessen the value of his testimony either way, that he was so easily led to give it, in the strongest terms, either confirmatory or negatively, upon the spur of the moment. It is a corroborative fact, which he also states, that in *Norske Mindesmærker* similar stones inscribed with runes are stated to have been found in tumuli in Norway; and in *Pommersche Prov. Blätt.* for 1830, p. 29, is also the account, "that in an urn was found inclosed a stone, with an undecyphered inscription." At present we shall proceed to examine the objections of another writer, who has, perhaps, discussed these idols latest that I have heard amongst his countrymen.

Under the name of "*Die deutsche Gesellschaft*," a society for the investigation of German language and antiquities, has some time back revived an older union in Leipsig with a similar aim. The report of its proceedings for 1844 was kindly given me, when I had the pleasure of assisting at some of its social and agreeable meetings in 1845, by Dr. Ernst Gotthelf Gersdorf, principal librarian of the Augusteum, in that city, and, I believe, president of the society. In it I found, at p. 39, a posthumous publication by Dr. Herm. Leyser (a deceased member): "*Ueber die Prillwitzer Götzenbilder.*" We are told in a preliminary notice by the editor of the report, Dr. Espe:—

"The following paper on the well-known Prilwitz Idols

was read by Dr. Leyser, in a public meeting of the Society, on its anniversary in 1839, and was then intended for publication, which, however, was afterwards postponed, as the writer proposed to enlarge it; an intention hindered by his death. We must premise, on presenting to the public this Essay in its original form, the remark, that its writer by no means intended to claim for it a decisive judgment on the genuineness of these figures, which has often been contested, and only lately received partial recognition; for he felt, with his accustomed great diffidence, that many very indispensable requisites for such purpose were wanting to him, and amongst them a knowledge of the Slavonic language. His intention was to give our Society an account of their discovery, and by a description of their form, and by an exposition of the grounds which have been advanced either for or against their authenticity, the opportunity of forming a preliminary judgment on a matter which he hoped might very soon be taken up and investigated, most certainly more deeply than had hitherto been the case. Should they be proved spurious, then history would have established her right; on the contrary, could their genuineness be proved, a great and valuable addition would then accrue to a knowledge of Slavonic mythology, with which the German had also many points in common."

After this indeterminate view, as stated for Dr. Leyser, it was not exactly in accordance that Dr. Espe should give the positive decision which his conclusion contains:—

"That it was impossible for the author to submit, in conclusion, the stones described by V. Hagenow to an exact investigation, is the more to be lamented, since thereby the reasons which he brings to bear against the genuineness of the Prillwitz Idols would have been considerably strengthened."

It will not be necessary to repeat what is here said concerning the *discovery*, which receives no fresh light, or any facts different from what have

been already related; nor is it necessary to notice any remarks which are merely repetitions of observations of others. Of the figure, however, which has called up these remarks, more particularly, Dr. Leyser says, p. 46: "Besides these, there is the figure of a Satyr (Waldschrets), fig. 32; Slavonic, *Berstuc*, as its characters also indicate; *which has the true Slavonic stamp* (mit echt Slavischem Charakter), *very remarkably.*" My prescribed limits deny me, also, an abstract of the Slavonic religion, concerning which Dr. Leyser (pp. 46 to 53) gives some important facts, and an arranged survey of numerous authorities. This mythology is very important for a knowledge of our own earliest history; and a Dictionary upon the plan of Smith or Rich's Mythological Lexicons for Greece and Rome, is a great desideratum in the cycle which these commenced, for an historical survey of the earliest creeds and opinions of all nations.

We can only at present remark, cursorily, on some of the original objections which Dr. Leyser has produced, and merely observe, that, though read to the German Society in 1839, consequently four years later than Levezow's essay was first brought out, and three after its publication in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy, the objections of the latter are in no place mentioned, from which we may presume them unknown; this circumstance, from the intimate and near connexion betwixt the Prussian capital and the great book mart of the Continent, is somewhat remarkable; but the objections taken are principally levelled against the

names and forms of the runes, which Levezow did not touch; and this paper might, therefore, almost be considered as his continuation, did we not feel assured that Dr. Leyser had not seen either the idols themselves or Levezow's essay.

At p. 54, the name of VOHDA, which Masch believed might be another form of Woden, Dr. Leyser does not entirely dispute, but remarks, that then it must have been when the Slavonic religion had degenerated, and received Germanic deities. But German and Slavonic creeds will probably be found, ere long, to have been divided by a thinner screen than is now generally admitted.

The name of the goddess PODAGA, it is asserted, has been clumsily forged, and that the real name should have been POGADA. This is endeavoured to be proved from Abraham Frenzelius' treatise *de Diis Soraborum* (Hoffman, *Script. Rer. Lusaticarum*, tom. ii. p. 177), who says, the first denomination is not Polish, and is in that language without meaning; and from Dlugloss,\* a canon of Cracow, (†1480), in his *Hist. Poloniae*, who directly calls her Pogoda (vide Potocki, *Chroniques Memoires*, &c. p. 15).

“Habebatur et apud illos pro Deo *Temperies* quem sua lingua appellabant *Pogoda* quasi *bonæ auræ largitor*. Item *Deus vitæ* quem vocabant *Zywie*.”

In reference, however, to both these authorities, it should be remarked, in the first place, that they are in direct opposition to one another; for the female divinity of Frenzel is a male one in

Dlugloss. But, secondly, the metathesis of the *p* and *d* is so easy and allowable, that it rather confirms than weakens the authenticity of these figures. The change of *p* into *b* or *f* is universally admitted by all grammarians, and into *g* we may cite an example from Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 14, who correctly deduces the common German interjectional expression, *potztausend*, from *Gottstausend*; and, no doubt, are *gag* and *payer* intrinsically the same words. More on such changes is found in Batlely's *Antiq. Rutupienses* (p. 21): "Pro *Triputiens* legendum esse *Riputiens*;" and he very truly adds: "Ejus modi (duræ atque immanis syllabarum trajectionis) exemplis non carere," as every language can witness; nor is it probable that with the great knowledge of the ancient deities and mythology of the land, which is universally admitted, and which must be predicted of every party supposed to have actually formed or suggested the figures and inscription, they would have not had recourse to such common works as Frenzel's or Dlugloss. The very want of agreement in such an easy matter shows that the Slaves must have used *Podaga*, or *Pogada*, in every-day life, indiscriminately; and, consequently, that it was perfectly immaterial which variation of the name the old Wendic priest impressed upon this figure of his deity.\*

\* Perhaps a still stronger change of *d* into *g*, or *vice versâ*, Dr. Leyser might have found, if a Pomeranian or Holstein native, by the identity of meaning betwixt the words *Pogge* and *Padde*, both signifying, as stated in the preceding chap-

At p. 56, the objections against the goddess Siwa, Sieva, or Sieba, on which I have added Dlugloss's short notice in the extract above, (where the vernacular form is ZYWIE), are rather curious. The figure is judged spurious, because it agrees perfectly with the careful chronicler, Botho von Braunschweig, whose *Chronicum Picturatum*, with *figures* of all the Teutonic deities, is one of the most curious works issuing from the press shortly after the discovery of printing. Botho gives also, in Platt Deutsch, a full description of the entire Teutonic Olympus. Leibnitz transferred it to his *Script. Rerum Guelficar.*, with very bad copies of the original wood blocks of the deities, and the entire omission of the curious ones of the shields and pedigrees of the princes and their wives, as well as of the imaginary views of the principal cities, when their foundations were laying. Dr. Leyser, as the ground of an inuendo objection, here says, that Frenzelius, in his description of Rhadegast, or Svantovit, has cited from Adam v. Bremen a passage which cannot there be found, corroborating Botho's description of Rhadegast; and that the forger, finding, as he thought (but with-

ter, the frog or toad. Pogesanien, a province of heathen Prussia, and Paderborn, the famous city in Westphalia, show the extended range of this metathesis, and its frequency. In the *Mürksche Forschungen*, p. 150, *Bagen*, or *Bogen*, is mentioned as identical with Baden. In the East, the use of Dagaoba for Pagoda, may originate from a cognate change; and perhaps the best derivation of the Saxon *Dogge*, is to be sought in the uncertainty of the ancient nomenclature for all objects of natural history, as a variety from Pogge, or its nearest inflection.

out taking the trouble to search for Adam v. Bremen's words), Botho corroborated in this instance, the more readily was induced to copy the same author's description of Sieba. I have carefully examined Frenzelius's work, from p. 70 to 77, which is dedicated to the description of "Suan-tevitus nunc Radegastus," but cannot discover the citation, or any mention from Adam, save p. 77: "Radegastus cui Adamus Bremensis, p. 48, ipseque Helmold l. c. principatum inter Deos Slavorum maxime Redariorum concedunt." I have before observed that Leyser's work was published posthumously, so that we may charitably suppose that, if a revision had been allowed him, he might have corrected this mistake, and perhaps have entirely altered his opinions.

Further objections next occur to smaller articles; as a bunch of grapes, the small model of a sword, &c., which it is not denied appear modern, and will not be defended; for, lying about, as we see the collection did, for perhaps fifty years, in the workshop of a goldsmith or metal-caster, such pieces may have got mixed amongst the original articles, without at all arraiging the genuineness of the rest, which, by their internal form, and many agreeing circumstances, offer many indisputable proofs of authenticity.

No difficulty is made, at p. 60, at the bronze material of these objects; and at p. 61 it is admitted that, if they contain silver in the stated large proportions, that would afford some proof of their being genuine. He might have surely added an *indisputable* one, for no one can for a moment suppose that a poor pastor should have given him-



self the trouble, and expended the necessary sums, for a purpose, as the whole proceedings evince, neither of profit nor honour to himself.

At p. 61 we arrive at the doctor's objections to the Runic inscriptions, which are the more desirable, as Levezow had been hindered by death before he could finish this part of his inquiry. As he here cannot avoid referring to Wilhelm Grimm's valuable testimony to the authenticity of these runes, and as his objections are restricted to a couple of queries, which become unsupported inuendoes, it will be desirable to copy the remarkable passage of Grimm alluded to, from *Wiener Jahrbücher*, for 1828, vol. xliii. p. 31. Speaking of Slavonic runes, after a general notice of the discovery, &c. of these Rhetra idols, embracing the facts already stated, and after mentioning the principal objections that could be made against them, though his remark on the Satyr before us, "that it was modelled after an antique Satyr, to which it certainly agreed in signification, as *Berstuc*, or *Waltschrats*," may, in my view of the subject, be taken rather as confirmatory than the contrary—after this, I say, W. Grimm goes on to give the following incontrovertible proof of the truthfulness of the runes used on these Prillwitz figures; a fact that must be decisive; for if the characters are such as could have been shown to a forger from no existing or known alphabet, their presence on these runes can only be accounted for by the fact, that they were inscribed when these lost and afterwards discovered letters were currently in use:—

“On the other hand, my entire doubts (against the au-

thenticity of the figures) are of that nature, that a real genuineness may well co-exist beside them; and there must be, in the forms and general character of these monuments, *something convincing*, not obtainable from the view of the engravings of them hitherto published; for, as far as I know, every one who has personally examined them, has been satisfied that they are no forgeries.

“ But the letters that we find used here, should they show no signs of fraud, if such were committed? Here deceit is more difficult; at all events, they deserve inquiry. These are runes, but neither northern nor Anglo-Saxon, though allied to both. But are they not merely borrowed, or designedly altered? That will depend upon a closer examination; and I will, therefore, mention their most remarkable and important peculiarities. The B, in all alphabets of that pretty uniform type, whose connexion is now under consideration, has in the figures a different form, in at least five varieties, similar to one another, but still equally differing from the usual B. This is the only variation in the sixteen old runes; the other differences are met with in the new runes, which is certainly a weighty circumstance for the genuineness of these Prillwitz runes; for chance it cannot be, and it would be difficult, in designed fraud, to presuppose a knowledge of this difference. The E is not like the Anglo-Saxon; it is the mere Latin one, only placed backwards (Æ), but has mostly the form (⊥), which is also used for A (and this is remarkable, and must have its reason in the language), although this A has, at the same time, a form the most like a Gothic (black letter) A.”

Some other letters are also adduced as peculiar, but the above may be sufficient to prove the perfect conviction the learned Wilhelm Grimm had on the validity of these runes, on a subject which he had so intimately studied; and in an elaborate Essay, to which he signed his name, Dr. Leyser, p. 62, tries to deny the peculiarities which Grimm had found in the new runes, F, G, P, and

V or W, all but for the B, which passes muster; but his reason is not at all convincing to others, and I question if it really carried conviction to himself. Dr. Leyser, however, lays more weight on the later and more energetic declaration of the better known of the brothers Grimm, Jacob Ludwig, in a criticism on the *Glagolitha Clozianus* of Baron Kopitar, librarian of the Imperial and Royal Library at Vienna, contained in the *Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 29th February, 1836, p. 323, ff. (Dr. Leyser's text has, erroneously, 1837, which the editor, Dr. Espe, might easily have corrected); and Grimm's words are given, which, translated, run as follows:—

“ But I must come forward with a striking proof for the antiquity of the glagolithic letters E and B. The latter has the form of an angle or clamp (*haken*) which above ends in a three-pronged fork, and differs entirely from the common Latin-Gothic Runic, consequently also from the Cyrillan B. But exactly *the same* remarkable variation in these two letters, the E turning to the left, and the trident B is found on the Prilwitz idols, hitherto so evil spoken of, as well as in the stones published by V. Hagenow.\* (See *Wiener Jahrbücher* vol. xliii.; and Von

\* I have hardly done justice to the subject, in not mentioning these stones with greater circumstantiality previously. They are fourteen in number, found in the neighbouring plains round Prilwitz, and now in the Grand Ducal Collection, with the bronze idols. They were first published in the full size, and described by V. Hagenow (8vo. 1826, Loitz and Greifswald). Some of them were found perfectly independent of any of the Sponholz family; and fig. 4 is an exact, but rude, copy of the bronze Puch on my title-page. It is evident these metal and stone monuments must stand or fall together.

Hagenow's figures 8 and 11). These Wending runes are generally the same as the northern, but differ in single letters, and in their greatest divergence they agree with the Glagolitha! What could confirm more the antiquity of the Glagolithic character, as well as the impugned authenticity of these North Slavonic idols? It surpasses all belief to give a New Brandenburgh goldsmith credit for such a knowledge of the Northern Prussian and Slavonic mythology, of the northern runes and of the Glagolithic alphabet, or that he could imitate them all, not clumsily, but with every needful addition or subtraction. Supposing now the admission of the authenticity of these figures, which is strengthened by other reasons, it appears to follow from them, that even the heathen Slaves used characters of which no remnants are to be now found but in the Glagolithic alphabet.\*"

This strong testimony of such an acknowledged authority for ancient letters, art, and language, Dr. Leyser endeavours to reason away by noting

\* It is singular and pleasing, that whilst these pages are passing through the press, a remarkable use of the inverted  $\mathfrak{B}$ , as the character of B, should have turned up in many instances in the Runic inscriptions of our own country. The truth of the runes on the Prilwitz idols is scarcely capable of greater or more convincing proof, than the meeting their unknown and unobserved peculiarities at the utmost limits to which the Runic alphabets extend; from the Illyric frontier in the east to the Isle of Man in the west, whilst Rethra may be stated as the centre. The fact I allude to is found in the learned Dane Worsaae's "*Danes and Norwegians in England*," which for the present I copy from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1852. Worsaae is speaking of the Runic inscriptions so frequent in that island, and certainly older than its conquest, in 1077, by Godred, and continues:—

"I have myself examined and compared them in two places (at Edinburgh, in the Museum of Scottish Antiquaries; and at Canons Ashby, the seat of Sir Henry Dryden),

the variations as unimportant, which Grimm thought so convincing, but which the great length at which I have stated the controversy hinders me from adducing; and also because, driven at last partially to admit their reality, he continues, p. 64, after having taken for granted that he has proved the falsity of some of Masch's figures from their very modern appearance (of Radegast, Sieva, of the Podaga or Pogada, whether masculine or feminine, from internal reasons,) he continues:—

“Are now these as well as the remaining figures, which are distinguished neither by antiquity of form, nor the *æruigo nobilis* which Masch made so much of, to enjoy a preference before those proved spurious, or those suspected as such, to be considered genuine from the accidental coincidence of two letters, which may even be controverted, and notwithstanding all the reasons which I have adduced against their genuineness?”

And in his conclusion he admits the great degree of knowledge, both of Slavonic antiquities, mythology, and characters, that must have been possessed by the forger, which is almost reducing his argument against himself, *ad absurdum*:—

“All these circumstances together determine me to consider the Prilwitz idols as not the fabrication of an individual, or of a simple goldsmith, but as the production of a party well versed in Slavonic antiquities, as well as very cautious, and who only used the skill of the goldsmith for the execution of his forgeries.”

and I have since had an opportunity of examining all of them, in conjunction with the learned Norwegian Professor, R. A. Munch, to whom I am indebted for several very important hints relative to their correct interpretation; and amongst these, that the rune  $\mathfrak{B}$ , which in most inscriptions signifies O, *must be read as B.*”

The reader has now the two opinions in contrast, of Wilhelm Grimm, confirmed emphatically by his learned brother Jacob Ludwig, as opposed to that of Dr. Leyser, whose work, as I have said, was posthumous and long delayed—a circumstance which may induce us to believe that had he lived to superintend the publication, his condemnatory judgment would have been materially softened, perhaps totally reversed, particularly if he had previously enjoyed the opportunity of a personal examination, which, according to Grimm's testimony, invariably resulted in the conviction of the examiner as to the perfect genuineness and truthfulness of the monuments. Before leaving, however, this objection, as the latest, we cannot help remarking upon the unfairness of his insinuations above stated. He ought to have pointed out the party he alludes to, to have fixed the probability of forgery upon some time or place, upon some spot or person, on whom the inculcation ought to rest. To which of the possessors, as a scholar, and well-versed in Slavonic antiquities, could he point? Surely to none other than the Rev. T. S. Sponholz, their discoverer and first possessor; for if, as his daughter declared, a large store of metal articles (*allerlei metalwerk*) was found at the close of the seventeenth century, the forgeries can only be laid to his charge, or some working goldsmith, as accomplice, but surely not without a motive, and with what? The mixture of the precious metals is various, but considerable, in all the figures, and from the trial by the touchstone resulted 2, 3, 4, and even 10, in 16 parts (5, 6, 8,

and 20 lothiges silber) of silver, so that the intrinsic metallic value of some of the pieces is considerable. The largest, the Schuaitix, if the whole statue were of a uniform mixture, would alone have a bullion value of 70 rix thaler, or ten guineas, and another not specified 26 rix thaler, or about three guineas. Now, how could a simple pastor in an obscure Mecklenburg village have mustered funds, even if he had so determined, to commit a forgery thus costly? And if he had, we have a right to suppose that it must have been with some prospect of profit or fame for this expenditure. We have seen, however, that he took no steps to make the figures available for either. They remained unnoticed till after his death, and they were sold by his widow to Mr. Pälcke for, most probably, a very trifling amount, as the using up part as mere bell-metal sufficiently proves, as well as the intractability of all the rest for the purposes of melting. It is, I think, impossible to suppose a forgery without a motive; and all the evidence given negatives those which act most commonly upon mankind—fame or profit. We must, from the testimony adduced, carry the original forgery, if we suppose it, sixty or seventy years back from the date of the period when the figures first attracted attention, when all who might have benefited by the cheat were long called to their fathers, and only one witness survived who could testify to having known of the discovery at the time it took place, but who had no interest then of any kind in the collection, and may be considered, therefore, perfectly unpreju-

diced and impartial. This is a fact which Dr. Leyser has overlooked, but which appears the most important of any in the chain of evidence as to their being found by a party on whom no suspicion of forgery could rest.

It is singular, and a proof of the little intercourse on mutually interesting subjects of antiquity betwixt the Continent and Great Britain, that, except the slight notice concerning them, at p. 274, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, we should have only another mention made of them in England, that I know of, but by no less a person than the industrious and learned Douce, who seems to have been well acquainted with the facts, and thought the figures genuine. In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi., for 1827, p. 36, is a dissertation on a runic jasper ring, belonging to George Cumberland, Esq., by Francis Douce, of which the following is an extract :—

“In this general sketch of the nature and extent of the runic letters, it would be an omission of some consequence not to notice the use of them that was made in a language wholly different from the Gothic or Scandinavian. During the middle ages, and perhaps in an earlier period, the countries that stretch along the southern coasts of the Baltic were inhabited by the Veneti, the Obotriti, and other people, who, using the Slavonian language, appear to have adopted the runic character. Curious as well as remarkable evidence of this circumstance occurred about a century since, (1827), when a large collection of idols and other articles were found at a small distance from the ground, at a village near Prilwitz, and a similar one at New Brandenburg. Some of these fell into the hands of Andreas Gottlieb Masch, a preacher in ordinary and superintendent at New Strelitz, who published an account of them in 1771, with several



engravings, and afterwards caused them to be deposited in the cathedral at Ratzeburg. Many of these idols were likewise described by Count Potocki, in his *Voyage dans le Basse Saxe pour la Recherche des Antiquités Slaves, &c.*, Hamburg, 1795,\* 4to. From these interesting works it appears that the above idols had been originally placed in the temple of Radegast, at Rhetra, which was entirely destroyed in the time of Charlemagne.† That the Scandinavian worship had in part been adopted by this people, the name of Woden, or Odin, occurring on some flat pieces of metal supposed to have been votive tablets, but, what is more probable, to have been used for magical purposes, proves; but all of them have inscriptions in Runic characters. It is remarkable that Herman, a monk of St. Gall, who wrote a chronicle about the year 1060, should have mentioned that the German idols, in the time of Charlemagne, were inscribed with Greek characters, which it is easy to see he has confounded with Runes.”

The latter remark might also be applied to the use of Greek characters, which Cæsar attributes (lib. i., cap. 21) to the Helvetic and (lib. vi., cap. 13) to the Germanic Druids. The name Vohda is found, not only, as Douce remarks, on a flat piece, “which more correct opinions have stamped like other similar ones, as offertory dishes,” but on one of the largest and most remarkable figures, (*vide* Masch, § 86, fig. 4); and as to the inscriptions generally on articles of use or worship, we

\* It may be observed that v. Hagenow states that this work of Count Potocki has become extremely scarce. A copy is in the British Museum library.

† But the temple, according to Masch, was restored; and it was at its subsequent and final demolition, under Henry the Lion (†1192), according to the theory of this writer, that the idols were hidden, and remained, therefore, about five hundred years under the safeguard of mother earth.

find metal caldrons inscribed in Spain (*Velasquez and Erro on the alphabets of "las Lettras desconocidas"*), and for instruments, *vide Peringskiold's Life of Theoderic*, where the full name of that monarch is found in Runic characters on a knife; and in the daily papers, 20th to 23d July, 1846, was a paragraph stating that in cutting a railroad from Canterbury a sword had been found with a Runic inscription on the blade, which it was intended to exhibit to the Archæological Association. The *quantity* of objects finds its parallel also in Britain. In the valuable work by Mr. D. Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 243, mention is made of the discovery of a bronze caldron containing thirteen litui or trumpets, the largest having their seams rivetted, thirty-one bronze celts, twenty-nine spear heads, and three gouges, which, upon a calculation, could hardly weigh less than an hundred pounds—sufficiently heavy, in my opinion, to overthrow the opinion of the learned writer, that this was the last stock-in-trade or wallet of a travelling pedlar.

Before we quit this part of the subject, it may be as well to complete the literature on these idols beyond what has been already mentioned, which, together, will fully justify my translation of a remark made by Levezow, in my motto to this chapter, of the immense interest and discussion these relics have occasioned:—

1. JOHANN THUNMAN. Professor zu Halle Untersuchung über die alte Geschichte einiger nördlichen Völker. Berlin, 1772, 8vo.

2. SAMUEL BUCHHOLZ. Rhetra und dessen Götzenbilder. Schreiben eines Märkers an einen Mecklenburger über die in

Prilwitz gefundenen Wendischen Alterthümer. Butzow und Wismar, 1773, 4to.

3. The monthly publication of and for Mecklenburg (*Monatsschrift von und für Mecklenburg*), 4to., contains the following papers :—

a. Conjecturen über eine Stelle des Helmold das Pantheon zu Rhetra betreffend von . . . . e. (Hane zu Woostan) s. 735, 53, Jahrgang ii. 8. Stück, 1789 und 827, 43. Fortsetzung, s. 9. 1789. Beschluss s. 1031-1043. 11 Stück, 1789.

b. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wenden Stadt Rhetra von Masch (answer to the foregoing). *Ibid.*, s. 1103-1111, 12 Stück, 1789.

c. Hane Erinnerung gegen Herrn Superintendenten Masch, &c. *Ibid.*, s. 481, 89, q. Jahrgang 4 Stück, 1791. (Hane contends that Rhetra was situated on the Müritz lake.)

d. Ein Beitrag zur älteren Geschichte Mecklenburgs besonders über the Lage von Rhetra. *Ibid.* Jahrgang iii. s. 99, ff., und s. 225 ff. (The writer takes Teterow to be the ancient Rhetra; but all admit the authenticity of the idols and other objects described by Masch.)

4. PROFESSOR RUEHS in Greifswald über Mecklenburg Strelitz besonders über the Herzögl. Sammlung Slavischer Alterthümer zu Prilwitz, in the sixth part of "*Neuer Teutscher Merkur*," 1805, s. 146. This was the first author who raised any doubts as to the authenticity of the objects.

5. JOHANN DOBROWSKY, in the second part of the *Slavonka*, Prague, 1815, 8vo., p. 174-175, because some of the pieces not above suspicion, would not give an opinion.

6. F. J. MONE, *Geschichte des Heidenthums im Nordl. Europa*. Leips. and Darmstadt, 1822, 8vo., i. Theil s. 172., considers them proved genuine beyond doubt or question.

7. FIORILLO, in: *Kleinen Schriften artistischen Inhalts*. Göttingen, 8vo., 1806, ii. Band iii., Abschnitt über die Slavischen Alterthümer, is of the same opinion.

8. VON RUMOHR: *Sammlung für Kunst and Historie*, I. Band, 1816, considers them as proved perfectly genuine, and founds upon them his investigation into the religious and artistic civilization of the eastern Slaves.

9. INGEMAN, in Danish: *Grundtræk, til en Nord Slavisk og*

Vendisk Gudeläre: Kiob., 1824, (translated by Giesebrecht into German : neue Jahrbücher für Pommersche Geschichte, vol. iv., p. 119, ff.), speaks strongly in favour of their authenticity.

10. ARNDT, M. F., may be cited as a supporter, from the engravings which he published under the title "Grossherzog, Strel. Georgium, but without text, 1 sheet 4to., Minden, 1820. He obtained one of the inscribed stones, which he subsequently deposited in the Paris Museum.

11. LIEBUSCH *Scythica, oder die Berg Religion und der spätere Fetischmus.* Camenz, 1833.

12. KANNGIESSER, *Bekehrungs Geschichte der Pommern, Greifswald, 1824.*

13. PREUSKER, *Blicke in die Väterländische Vorzeit, 2 vols. gr. 8vo., Leips., 1841, vol. i., p. 203, admits the authenticity.*

14. SAFFARIKS, *Slavische Alterthümer übersetzt von Austerfeld.*

15. LISCH, Archivarius and keeper of the grand ducal cabinet at Schwerin.

16. GIESEBRECHT, *Wendische Geschichte von 780-1181, 3 vols., Berlin, 1843.*

17. BARTHOLD, *Geschichte von Rügen and Pommern, 2 vols. 8vo., Hamb. 1839.*

Of the Nos. 14, 15, 16, it may be observed, that they decidedly advocate the opinions of forgery stated by Levezow ; but of Barthold, that he trims so, vol. ii., p. 538, compared with p. 540, that in his indefinite phrases and expressions it is difficult to make out to which side he inclines.

18. MEINHOLD, whose critical knowledge of the antiquities of the country so completely deceived all the literati of Germany, in his clever forgery of the "Amber Witch," wrote a treatise in defence of the integrity of the idols, but I have not been able to obtain a perusal of it.

19. SCHMIDT, *Zeitschrift für Geschichts-wissenschaft, Band ii., s. 168, with a Vindication of the Genuineness of the*

Prilwitz Idols, by Finn Magnusen (Runamo og Runerme), p. 236-245.

The two following works contain the articles of most of the others, with numerous copies of Masch's engravings, in alphabetical order:—

VOLLMER'S Vollständiges Wörterbuch der Mythologie, 8vo., Stuttgart, 1836.

WAGNER (S. C.), Handbuch der vorzüglichsten in Deutschland entdeckten Alterthümer aus Heidnischer Zeit: beschrieben und versinnlicht durch 1390 lithographirte Abbildungen, 8vo., Weimar, 1842.

It will be seen how much the affirmative judgments weigh in number over those condemnatory; and I should only refer it to the modesty of the present director of the Royal Museum of Berlin, Von Ledebur, that in a *resumé* given by him on the literature of these Rhetra idols, he should not state, as he did to me personally, that he considered their forgery as by no means proved. I look upon this decision from such a man, in the present state of public opinion concerning them in Germany, as tantamount to an admission in their favour.

Thus far on the figures and their inscribed characters generally, and finally on the figure which I have selected from them more especially, which I here repeat, and shall now describe more particularly from Masch's work, § 214, though the description does not in all respects seem to tally with the engraving (see p. 316):—

“The figure is two and a half inches high, and weighs four and a half loth (about two and a quarter English ounces.) The head is violently stretched forward, and has

a pointed snout, resembling a dog. (?) The body is that of a naked man, in a bent position. The knees are also bent, and the entire figure is in the *posture of carrying a burthen*, as on the nape of the neck may be seen (the remnants of) a little pack (Päcklein), which the satyr bore. One foot more bent, and therefore shorter than the other, is like a horse's hoof; the other is like the foot of a man. Both arms are broken off. Notwithstanding the smallness of the figure, it is wrought with great skill and beauty, and is inscribed with many Runic characters, some of which are difficult to decipher. On the small pack is ZU; below the right arm, on the breast, I; across the back to the bend of the knee, BERSTUCK; on the left side of the back, CRIWE; beneath the left arm to the bend of the knee, VEIDELBOT; beneath the flat foot, S; and beneath the left one, U.

As this figure appears to me to contain internal evidence of truthfulness, and offers proofs of which all the expositors of these figures had no conception, and which, therefore, would be confirmatory not only of what I have hitherto written, but of the authenticity of the rest of the collection, as far, at least, as to the first part described by Superintendent Masch, a more detailed consideration may be allowed me. We have already mentioned (p. 297) that Leyser admitted the agreement of this satyr in attributes and form with that of a Wendic Berstuck or Waldschrat; and Wilhelm Grimm, in the *Wiener Jahr-Bücher*, before cited, says, p. 32, this figure, though agreeing in character with the classic satyrs, is not a slavish copy. I have before hinted the conjecture that, from the many concurring points in the classic and northern mythologies, a very probable derivation of the Roman name of satyr, which neither themselves nor their latest elucida-

tors have satisfactorily solved, might readily be derived from the *Asa-Tyr* of the *Edda*, as a satyr; so that an agreement in general form must be a necessary feature, and any divergence would have been suspicious. The *Veidelbot* is but a variation of the comparatively modern terms *Waidlerin* and



*Waidelbot* (*vide* p. 113), and *Valtin Supplit* (p. 122) of which no doubt Tacitus' *Velleda* was a Roman corruption. The name *Crive* would require a longer deduction. That such was the title of the high priests of the Wendic nation, the evidence is abundant, and convincing. The following may at present suffice. Hartknock (*Altes und Neues*

*Preussen*) cites a verse from the rhyming chronicle of Jaroschin, one of the oldest historians of the Teutonic order :—

“ Der oberste Ewarte,  
Nach heidnischer arte,  
*Krive* was genannt sin name.”

Imitated in English doggerel like the original :—

“ Of Ewarte the chieftain,  
In manner of th’ heathen,  
*Krive* was called by name.”

I cannot at present stop to inquire whether this pontiff may not have been found in Britain; whether the name which Bede attributes to the high priest of Edwin, king of Northumberland, whose conversion the historian relates so graphically, but, after a period of a century and a half from the date of the event on which he writes, “*Coifi*” may not have been an error of his own, or of his early transcribers. This name has always been a great puzzle to our historians and Anglo-Saxon scholars. J. M. Kemble tried to solve it in a paper “*On the Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons*,” read before the annual meeting of the Archæological Society, at Winchester, in September, 1846; but I think all who have read it will admit that it is unsatisfactory and unconvincing, particularly in this name of *Coifi*. Yet, upon the supposition that Bede either heard or read, or was copied incorrectly, in a single letter—in an *o* for an *r*—we could bring this priest into exact conformity with the Wendic holy dignitary. We have too many indications of



the presence of Veneti in Britain, (the origin and meaning of the name, if space would permit them to be here gone into, would sufficiently account for our acceptance of them), not to allow of the probability of the title in Britain, and the coincidence would be mutually confirmatory (*vide post*, p. 326).

The next name is *Berstuccas*, in perfect accordance, according to our previous explanation, with his bearing a burthen or pack upon his shoulders according to Masch, though barely perceptible in Wogen's drawing. It will be scarcely, I trust, necessary to repeat the verbal conformities already shown in the name *Berstuccas* with *bearer of sticks*; and with the Latin *Styx*; with *kid*; and as *faggot* the synonym of *sticks*, producing, again, a graphic identity with the Roman *Aselli*, as bearers of *kids*, which the Christian artists changed into a *lamb* for the Bonus Pastor of the catacombs and their altars, and later hierologists converted into a sainted *Onuphrius*, from *Onager*, the wild ass, and *fero*, to carry. The name is lost in our traditions, but the reality remains in our pack-bearers and pedlars at Lambeth, Swaffham, &c. Throughout, the connection seems so strong and unbroken, that as we can follow it up from the present time to the profoundest depths of classic and northern myths, we need not doubt either the truth of these legends, or the genuineness of the figures which bear them. These *Aselli* are taken literally into the Edda, and the names of the buckets and the pole or yoke, and the well, specially adduced with a circumstantiality that northern poems so

much delight in (*vide* p. 201).\* How inseparably the yoke or pole (German, *tracht*, *τραγος*) was connected with the term *asellus*, may be further observed in the black streak which nature invariably gives the animal, from the neck down both shoulders, as an indelible and inborn yoke: and it is further proved, since the haddock, from similar marks on either shoulder, which superstition calls the marks of the thumb and finger of St. Peter, is also called, on the authority of Mr. Yarrel, *Asella*, or the Ass fish: *Assis*, by which the Romans designated a beam, or balk, *Caprificus*, as the modern Danes by *As*, remains for future consideration.

It appears to me, also, a circumstance strongly agreeing with the practice of various ages and countries, that the hoofs or feet of this figure are inscribed. Connected with the superstitions of the horse shoes, inscriptions beneath the horse's

\* As regards this Bucket and its presence borne by the Roman *Victimarius* in their sacrifices (*vide* p. 245), the utensil borne by the mythic priests in the recently imported Nineveh sculptures is usually called a basket, though, as far as regards its appearance, it may with equal truth be called a bucket: however, as the "*mystica vannus Jaechi*" would even accord with a basket, it is evidently immaterial by either of which names both are designated; but it is curious, that in a figure found under a mound of earth near Alneberry, now Nether Hall, in Cumberland, the exactly same utensil is found held in the left hand, whilst a very prominent *Key* in its right one, incontrovertibly stamps it as a *Janus*; and as this deity will in a future chapter be identified with *Thor*, we have in this series of images an unbroken chain of symbolism and identity of divinities, from the *Tigris* to the *Tweed*, from the *Zenda-Vesta* of *Zoroaster* to the *Sagas* and the *Eddas*.

hoofs have always something mythical. A very prominent instance of the mystic power ascribed to the inscription beneath a horse's foot is found in Codinus' description of the curiosities of Constantinople, under the title *De Originibus Constantinopolitanis*, edidit P. Lambecius, Par., fol., 1655, in the Latin translation of the edition:—

“In medio ejusdem aræ (Tauri Palatii) statuam equestrem magnæ columnæ sustinent quam alii Jesu Navæ alii Bellerophontis esse dicunt. Allata fuit ex magna Antiochia. Cæterum basis lapidea illius statuæ habet historias rerum novissimarum quæ urbi accident cum a Russis expugnabitur. Item parvum illud Signum æreum virile quod ad pedes antedictæ equestris statuæ vinctum et genuflexum visitur eadem continet. *Præterea quoque pes levus equi, quod in eo inscriptum est, præsignificat.*”

This latter part is somewhat obscure; but in his note, p. 65, Lambecius supposes, from the reading of MSS. in the Vatican, it may have originally signified:—

“Etiam equi pes lævus anterior, cui sigillum æreum virile vinctum et genuflexum inclusum, præsignificat quæ in eo inscripta sunt: nempe respicit Codinus ad illud quod refert Nicetas Choniates in anteriori sinistra ungula illius equi latuisse imagunculam consecratam viri clavo transfixi et plumbo undique cincti quæ ad conservationem urbis et prohibendas barbarorum incursiones ibi inclusa erat.”

And he continues:—

“Vide ipsum Nicetam circa finem Annalium ubi agit de Henrico Balduini fratre. Sed libitum quoque est ex paulo ante citato Fragmento Vaticano hactenus, ni fallor, inedito, aliquot ejusdem Authoris verba ascribere quibus eam rem declarant.”

From p. 174 of the same work we learn from this passage of Nicetas, that the Latin Crusaders, who

so unjustifiably attacked and stormed Constantinople, immediately overthrew these statues; their virtue was gone:—

“Latinos postquam Constantinopolin expugnaverunt imprimis celebres istas Statuas evertisse.”

Customs in a trade are frequently continued, even when their intention has changed, or their purpose become obsolete; thus, in an equestrian statue of Charles II., in the quadrangle of Windsor Castle, we have an inscription on the hoof or horse-shoe of the animal; but as it contains merely the name of the founder, Josias Ibach, of Stade, in the duchy of Bremen (“Fudit Josias Ibach, Stada, Bremensis”), we may thence judge that the practice had dwindled to a mere certificate of origin, though ancient usage and prescription had dictated the most appropriate spot. Are we to ascribe to this category of superstition the popular northern names for the herb tussilago (English coltsfoot), to which the ancients attributed such great medicinal powers (*vide* Plin. *Nat.* xxvi. 6, who thinks it was produced without blossom, stalk, or seed), which are mostly taken from the horse's hoof; Latin: Ungula Equi, Pes Asini; German: Hufflatig, Ross Huf, Esel's Huf. Herba St. Quirini, der Sohn vor dem Vater (the son before the father); also, French: Ungula Caballina, Pata equina, and also Calliomarchus, which word the note in Le Maire's edition, to the above passage, justly observes, is of the same significance:—

“Unde et intelliges veteribus Gallis Calliomarchum idem valuisse atque equinam ungulam. *March* certe veteribus

Gallis hodieque Britonibus Armoricis equam sonat quod et Pausanias testatur in Phocicis." (Lib. x. p. 645.)\*

It is true that we have for our Satyr only a single letter under each foot—under the right one S, and under the left one U. It is, however, a question whether, as all the figures are much injured by the fire which is supposed to have destroyed the temple in which they were placed, these inscriptions may not have been more complete than now; or, if I may hazard a conjecture, both may have to be read combinedly, as SU, or

\* I may be allowed, as corroborative of my assertion of the similarity of all languages, "in the common relations of life, the natural affinities of tools of agriculture and instruments of commerce; animals, localities, and even proper names" (*vide* p. 7), as proofs of a long oral identity, to adduce some other examples of the use of the word March for Horse, and its feminine Moere, or Mare, beyond those in the text for France, Britany, and ancient Greece. In the *Nibelung's Lied*, its use for Horse is frequent; v. 149 & 854:—

"Si liefen da si funden gesatelt manech March  
In Hofe Sigemundes, der buhurt, vvart so starch.

"Die slege Liudegeres vvaren al-so starch  
Daz Sivride under sœetele strüchte daz March."

And of the feminine, möre, v. 3082:—

"Gere der degen  
Er vvart vvil vvöl enpfangen; do erbeitzen si ze-tal  
Von Rossen unt von mören für den Guntheres sal."

And in almost a totally different language, the Platt Deutsch, the name is continued, at least in the feminine, to the present day; as, amongst others, in the fine old Epic, "*De olde Reynike Voss*," book ii. cap. 6, where Reynard sends the credulous Isegrim to read the price at which a mare would sell her foal, *written beneath her hoof*:—

ZU,\* the first syllable of the name of the well-known high title of ZU-PAN; the last syllable being supplied by the figure itself, as a rebus for *Pan*; which would give another strong connecting link with the classical Satyr, in this well-known synonym, both verbal and graphic; for strange as it may appear to those who know nothing of Slavonic rites or language, this so common Greek word is found in the dialects of that wide-spread people, in a signification as *Lord*, which would well correspond with that which it obtained amongst the Hellenic tribes, as a divinity. This deity was to the earliest colonists of Greece το παν, the Universal, the Lord of all; and to the present day PAN is the very general

“Ick sprack: wille gy ethen sath,  
Die Meere secht, unde entbüth yuw dat  
Dat gelt stett under erem vote geschreuen.”

I need not point out this inscription beneath the hoof as corroboration, or weak echo, of the olden opinions on writings in this position. But the term March has been transferred from the German language, with the high office as Marshall, to our Court and Ceremonies. Marstall, in that language, is equivalent to our Mews; and the Roman dignity, Magister Equitum, second only to the dictatorship, and existing but so long as that occasional honour was conferred, seems to have been but a Latin periphrasis of the Greek word. Whatever etymologists may tell us, our English March; French, Marcher; German, Marschieren—come from the times when cavalry alone composed our armies, and horses, therefore, only could be truly said to march.

\* The union of the two letters on each foot into a syllable, is corroborated by the appearance of the same zu on the shoulder, where Masch supposes the pack that the figure carried has been torn away.

designation of the lords or nobles of Poland, &c. The following is a Polish sentence, rather derisive certainly of the degradation into which nobility has sunk, by admission of all the sons of nobles into the class of Pans which, earlier, was necessarily more select: "*Ja pan i ty pan a kioz nas bedzie swinie part*"—"I am noble, and thou art noble, but who is to be the swineherd?" *Supan*, perhaps the exact Greek *το παν*, is the most ancient denomination, and was already known to Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Adm. imp. ix. c. 29*):—

"Principes vero hæ gentes non habent præter Zupanos senes, quemadmodum etiam reliqui Zlavborum populi."

And William of Tyre (xx. 4) says that the office of Zupans was general amongst the Slavonians, and signified, more particularly, *seniores*, our Anglo-Saxon ealdormen, modern aldermen. The Hungarian form is *Ispan*, whence the Germans call these territorial divisions *Gespanschaften* (Comitatus, in the Latin of the middle ages). Doubtless, too, the title of supremacy in Croatia, of Ban, with which the English public has of late years been so familiar, coupled with the name of the famous Jellachich, is exactly the same word; it evinces the wide spread of the denomination, and its latest existence. Should any doubt arise as to its early prevalence in Poland, from the silence of the earliest Polish historians, Gallus, Kadlubeck, Boguph, &c., (having been superseded by the word *Starost*) yet we find it even there, in documents of the fourteenth century; and what is of more

importance to the present inquiry, most undoubtedly in use in the countries betwixt the Elbe and Oder; and it does appear to me, therefore, as we find on this figure the names of other dignitaries, the two letters under its hoofs are to be supplied, as I have stated, with the wanting syllable from the rebus or name of the figure, to which the mythic value of their situations adds the corroboration, that it was applied to the highest civil dignity, and required some difficulty to be discovered. It might, at the early period of its formation, have been used as a secret method of designating the Universal Lord, and a barrier to the too common use or profanation of his name. Perhaps as Su-pan was the title or denomination of the Polish nobility, our early Puchs may have served the same office for the Anglo-Saxons. In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, cap. iv. (Giles's translation, in Bohn's Antiq. Series, p. 240), an abbot of the monastery of St. John of Beverley, states the following miracle of his bishop and patron saint:—

“ Not very far from our monastery (at South Burton) was the house of one *Puch, an Earl*, whose wife had languished nearly forty days under a very acute disease, insomuch, that for three weeks she could not be carried out of the room where she lay.”

If we do not choose to admit here Puch as the name of the dignity, but rather of the person, it may be added to the list of names derived from our deity, as the earliest we know of (*vide* p. 152, ff.) In the same early author (*Hist. I. c. 13*), we find the name of bishop *Pechthelin*; and *Ibid.* cap. 10,



the name of the monastery, now Finchale, near Durham, then called *Pegnalech*. But the whole of the district round this celebrated Fane of St. John is still redolent of ancient heathenness: *Pocklington* is a place of high antiquity in the neighbourhood; and *Sancton*, *Weighton*, or *Witton*, with various combinations of *Ella*, or *Hella* (Heilig, Holy), as North, South, and West *Ella*, *Elleker*, two *Elloughtons*, another *Wigton*, near Hull, all point at ancient sanctity under different rites and various creeds, and are, moreover, grouped along the Hull, a river, where the same quality of holy is disguised in only a slight inflection of the spelling; and which might have been the reason why the favourite residence of the Pagan Northumbrian kings was fixed near its source; this the tumuli and the opened grave of one of them named Alfred, at Little Driffield, with Pockthorpe but a few miles distant, sufficiently prove. It was, no doubt, the locality, favoured by the presence of a long line of ancestry, of Edwin, the first Christian king; and I cannot, therefore, but think it confirmatory of the opinion, that the name of his High Priest, in Bede's *History Coifi* (*vide* p. 267, 317), should have to be read Crive;\* for the scene of the Conversion, laid

\* If a sanction were wanted for this easy change, the high authority of Sir Francis Palgrave (*History of Normandy*, p. 40) would afford it for a similar difficulty in the Celtic word, *Bodenkos*, a name given, as we are told by Polybius, to the Po; which word Pliny interprets from the vernacular, as *Fundo carens* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. cap. 20): "Ligurum quidem lingua omnem ipsum (Padium)

at Londesborough or God-manham (close to which lies Pocklington, and, not far distant, Bugthorpe, or Bogthorpe), would, according to the definition of Manheim, in the Edda and in the Teutonic dialects, signify the abode of God on earth, or the middle world, in opposition to Muspelheim the world above and Nifelheim the world below. The former capital

Bodencum vocari quod significet fundo carentem." I may introduce Sir Francis' words in the preceding sentence as perfectly applicable to my proposed variation in the text: "No small pleasure accompanying historical investigation results from the stimulus afforded by the attempt to expound the dark riddles of past ages: the more difficult the problem, the greater the interest attending its solution. Imperfect are the data upon which the etymologist investigates the early history of the great Teutonic and Celtic families, somewhat more extensive than the two words which include the whole pitch of the Pictist controversy, but not very much more; he has to deal with scanty and unsatisfactory materials, usually a name of a town, mountain, or river, misheard by the stranger, misread by the author, or corrupted by the transcriber." Sir Francis exclaims: "Is not this Celtic, for there was a town, Bodencomagus, and we are asked whether *Bodinkos* can be explained from the Celtic tongues? Read *Bodenlos*, amend the penman's error, and you will have a pure German term." This question is taken from Arnold's *History of Rome* (i. 525), as we learn from the note at p. 717, with the remark: "Arnold seems rather to have put the question as if he expected it would be answered in the negative." Here, therefore, by this happy substitution of an *l* for a *k*, we get the identical modern term, in German, for Pliny's *fundo carens*—*Bodenlos*, in English, bottomless; and it might have confirmed the learned knight in his conjecture, to have recollected that one of the derivations of the name for the Lake of Constance, in German the *Boden Sea*, is because in many places it is, or was supposed to be, bottomless.

of the Grand Duchy of Baden was at Man-heim, and it is considered one of the most ancient cities of that part of Germany. If we, however, prefer taking this name of Puch, in Bede, as a title, we have, besides the above-cited Supan as a Slavonic authority, the Etrurian *Lar*, as an early Italian example, that it might be used in both modes. As an appellative we have, Lar-Herminius, Lar-Tolumnius, and Lar-Porsenna; and in its plural, as *Lares*, we have the well-known household gods of the Romans.

But if this conjecture, which I have started unaided by the hints of any writer, or authority, be admitted, what an immense force of probability is thereby added to the truths already adduced for this statue individually, as well as to the entire collection. I might repeat the words of Jacob Grimm, in asking: Can we believe that any of the possessors of the idols, according to the facts stated above, could have possessed the extensive knowledge of Slavonic antiquities, of Runes, with their provincial variations and most exact niceties, that they would have ventured to introduce a Vohda, or Woden, into the Slavonic Olympus, or named deities not found in the existing authorities; and all this with a great degree of technical ability in the art of casting; as well as admitted taste in the figures and accessories—would a poor country clergyman have gone to the expense of the precious metals mixed in their composition, or paid the wages of secrecy and ability which these clever forgeries necessitate? To me, and I think to most of my

readers, the supposition that they are forgeries seems monstrous, and can only have originated in the hypercriticism and fondness for objections, in which some minds find their greatest solace.

Before I conclude, it may be allowed me to remark, on one of Levezow's objections; that the heads are as little proportionate to the bodies on which they are placed, as the single limbs to their bodies; this is undoubtedly the case; nor is it denied by Masch; § 132, he says of Ipabog, about one of the largest idols, if you divide the figure into three parts, one part will be occupied by the head; but if disproportion be allowed to be a reason for forgery, the stone idols figured in Stephen's *Central America*, and the drawings of Catherwood, would prove all the curious figures they have copied from Copan and Palenque spurious. Many of these vestiges of a lost Transatlantic creed reminded me strongly, at the first blush, of some of the general forms which the Rethra Collection exhibited, allowing for difference of material and size; the comparison adds another link to that chain which is daily enlarging, which binds together both hemispheres in a mutual bond of corresponding religious rites, of domestic manners, and of many conforming customs.\*

\* Stephen's opinion on his Mexican artistical developments is contained in the following paragraph:—

“The Palenque artists were, equally with the Egyptians, awkward in representing the various attitudes of the body, which they also represented in profile. But the parts are executed with correctness, and sometimes gracefully; the costume is rich and various, and the ornamented head-

I lament that my interrupted relations with the Continent have not allowed me to ascertain whether the Slavonic professor and poet, Kollar, had made an examination of these idols, to which it was publicly stated he had been invited by His Serene Highness the present Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, in the summer of 1851. But in the newspapers of last year I meet, unfortunately, an obituary of him, from the periodical called *das Ausland*, so that it is possible death may have overtaken him before he had made the examination and given his judgment; though, as I find a poem by him called "*The Gods of Rethra*," it is probable, not only that he had seen them, but been impressed with a feeling of authenticity in their favour. Should this surmise prove correct, the affirmation of their authenticity by the first Slavonic archæologist of the age would be most satisfactory and convincing. Such an opinion would outweigh all the inuendos and scruples of the ignorant or the obstinate, of the careless observer or incredulous examiner. Levezow's evidence must be cast aside, and Leyser's inuendos forgotten.

To descend, however, from generals to particulars and the individual statuette before us, if the idea I have endeavoured to establish, of the origin and nature of our Puch divinities and Robin Goodfellows, has been deemed reasonable, and my proofs convincing, this figure will add dresses typical, perhaps, like the Aztec, of the name and condition of the party, conforms, in its magnificence, to the oriental taste."

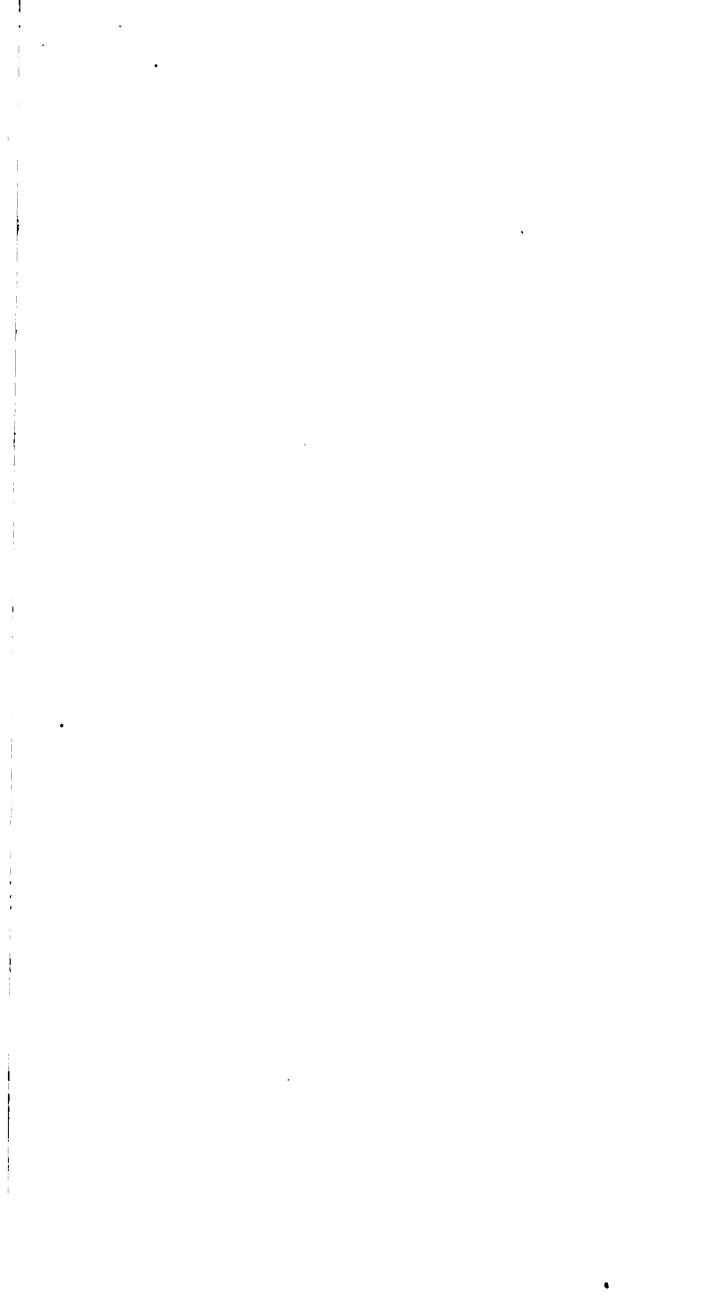
corroboration to what I have said, and every feature will gain strength by considering the predominant character of the *merry mischievous* creature of Shakespeare's fancy. Could a forger have laid hold of this discriminating trait in his conception of an ancient deity of the country without clue or authority to guide him? Every limb of the figure is redolent of fun; and the lineaments of the face express, equally well with the best classic Pans and Satyrs, the promptings of a mind that could give birth to the following words:—

“ *Puck*. Thou speakest aright ;  
 I am that merry wanderer of the night.  
 I jest to Oberon, and make him smile,  
 When I a fat and bean-fed horse beguile,  
 Neighing in likeness of a filly foal ;  
 And sometimes bark I in a gossip's bowl,  
 In very likeness of a roasted crab ;  
 And when she drinks against her lips I bob,  
 And on her withered dew-lap pour the ale :  
 The wisest aunt, telling the saddest tale,  
 Sometimes for three-foot stool mistaketh me,  
 Then slip I from her bum, down topples she,  
 And *tailor* cries, and falls into a cough ;  
 Then the whole quire hold their lips and loffe ;  
 And *waxen in their mirth*, and neeze and swear ;  
 A *merrier* hour was never wasted there.”

So fully am I persuaded that in this figure we have a genuine and most ancient Puck before us, not only from all the foregoing proofs, historical and literary, and also conforming, by its comparison, to other mythological figures, that I cannot forbear putting the earnest interrogatory which gave birth to the above speech, to this Wendic figure:—

" *Fairy. Either I mistake your shape and making  
 quite,  
 Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite  
 Called Robin Goodfellow: are you not he,  
 That fright the maidens of the villagery;  
 Skim milk, and sometimes labour in the quern,  
 And bootless make the breathless housewife churn;  
 And sometime make the drink to bear no barm,  
 Mislead night wanderers, laughing at their harm?  
 Those that Hobgoblin call you, and sweet Puck,  
 You do their work, and they shall have good luck:  
 ARE YOU NOT HE ?* "

To aid the reader's confidence in agreeing with me in an affirmative reply, the subsequent chapters of the second volume will, I believe, offer much additional proof, drawn from farther considerations of the Man in the Moon, and of conformities in other particulars betwixt the classic myths and the Tales of the Edda, as well as with our own vernacular superstitions.









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